Virginia Women

Their Lives and Times—Volume 2

EDITED BY CYNTHIA A. KIERNER AND SANDRA GIOIA TREADWAY

Marie Kimball Adèle Clark Mildred Loving Wage-Earning Women
Virginia "Patsy" Cline Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph Lucy Goode Brooks
Rural Women and Girls in the Virginia Home Demonstration Program
Sadie Heath Cabaniss Ellen Glasgow Caroline F. Putnam Vivian Carter Mason
Orra Gray Langhorne Sarah Patton Boyle Sharon Bottoms and Linda Kaufman
Black Women in Prince Edward County Dorothy McDiarmid and Mary Marshall

VISIT…

Virginia Women

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Volume 2

EDITED BY

Cynthia A. Kierner and
Sandra Gioia Treadway

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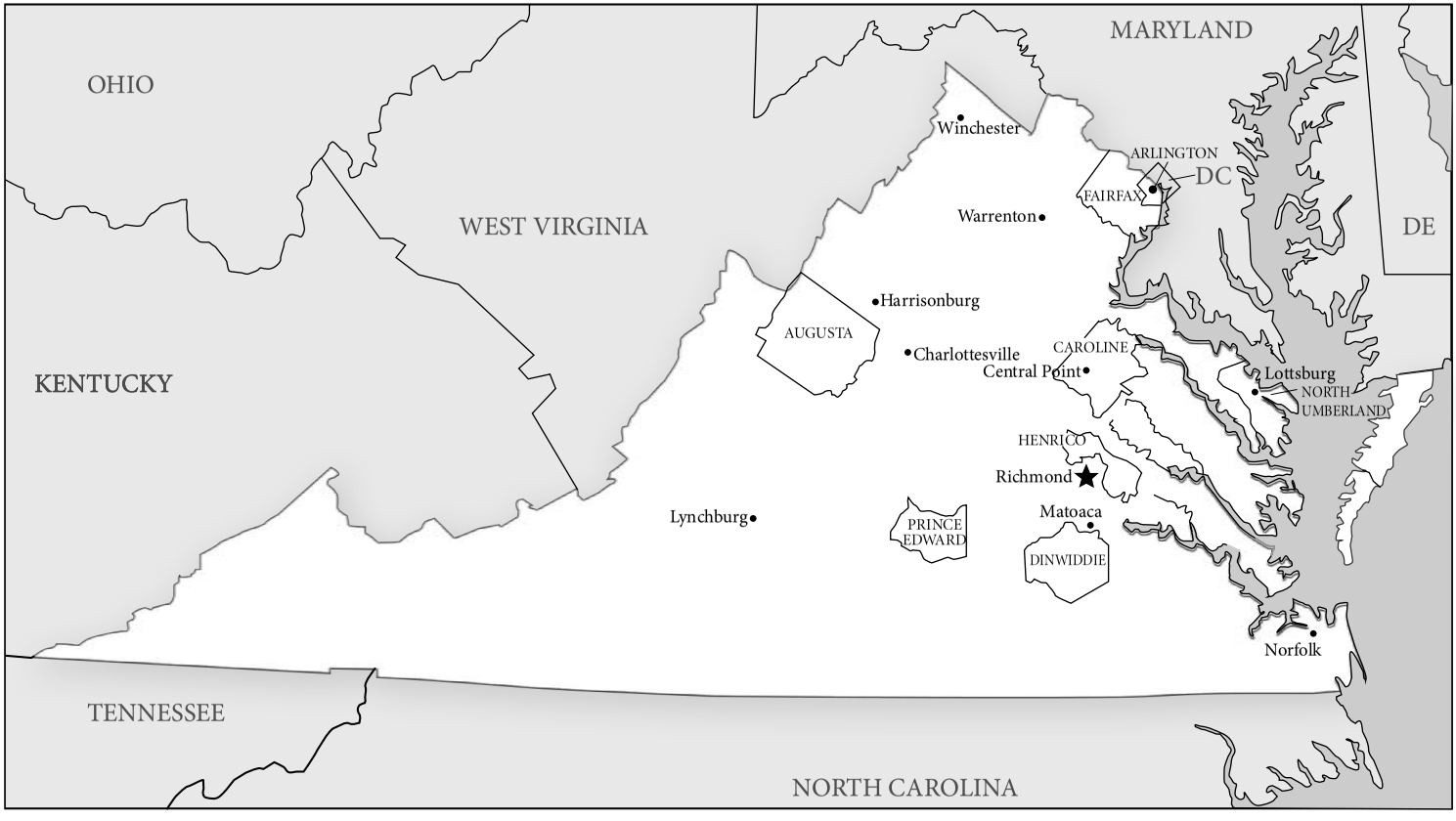
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Virginia Women

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Introduction

CYNTHIA A. KIERNER AND
SANDRA GIOIA TREADWAY

The essays in *Virginia Women: Their Lives and Times* recount the history of women in the Old Dominion through the lives of individuals who were both unique and representative of their times. Virginia's history spans more than four centuries, and women were significant historical actors in every era, from before the first English settlement at Jamestown in 1607 to our own new millennium. In both economic and cultural terms, women's work has been valuable. Their involvement in public life, though sometimes barely visible, has been both ongoing and productive, and at times its effects have been transformative. The authors of these essays seek to engage general readers, teachers, and students—as well as historians—in both the personal stories of their subjects and their larger historical contexts.

A whirlwind survey of four centuries of Virginia women's history suggests the rich diversity of our subject. At the first colonial outpost, Jamestown, Pocahontas forged relationships between English settlers and Powhatan natives. Decades later, Lady Frances Berkeley was a political force in transatlantic imperial politics, traveling to London to secure the king's assistance in suppressing Bacon's Rebellion. In the eighteenth century, Virginia women such as the Williamsburg milliner Catherine Rathell brought London fashions to eager colonial consumers, while the patriotic Anne Dabney Terrell of Bedford County later used her pen to rally female Virginians to America's Revolutionary cause. Notable nineteenth-century Virginia women included Mary Randolph, who authored America's first regional cookbook; Jane Minor of Petersburg, a former slave who used her earnings to purchase the freedom of sixteen enslaved women and children; and Elizabeth Keckley, who escaped slavery to become Mary Todd Lincoln's dressmaker and found an organization that aided newly emancipated

African Americans during and after the Civil War. In the twentieth century, Lila Meade Valentine and Zelda Kingoff Nordlinger fought for women's political and civil rights—via suffrage and the Equal Rights Amendment—and Lorena Bobbitt, an abused wife who became famous for slicing her husband's penis in 1993, established a nonprofit organization to stop domestic violence.[1]

With the exception of the much-mythologized Pocahontas, none of these women are widely known today, at least among people who are not specifically interested in women's history. The continued obscurity of such consequential historical figures—none of whom is the subject of a chapter here—shows that there is still much work to be done. Their obscurity also underscores the fact that, despite decades of groundbreaking research by historians of women and gender, women's individual and collective activities and achievements still tend to be unrecorded or underrepresented in general surveys of both American and Virginia history as well as in the public's historical consciousness.

Indeed, the massive tome that for decades was the premier single-volume history of the Old Dominion barely mentioned women. That book's index had more than 1,500 entries, only 44 of which referenced Virginia women. (An additional 12 entries referenced women who were not Virginians, including two English queens and two wives of American presidents.) The four-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Jamestown in 1607 brought the publication in 2007 of two new Virginia histories, which, to varying degrees, included women in their stories, but mainly as supporting actors in a familiar historical narrative. These accounts showed how women contributed to historical events and trends, but they ignored the more challenging question of how gender shaped history and whether women's historical experiences expose errors or deficiencies in the existing historical narrative.[2]

Nor have women's distinctive stories and experiences been adequately reflected in movies, monuments, and other artifacts of public memory and popular historical consciousness. Ironically, the welcome twenty-first-century addition of a monument on Richmond's Capitol Square "to commemorate the contributions of the women of Virginia" is compelling evidence of their overall absence from the state's otherwise prolific culture of commemoration. A comparably generic monument to Virginia men is unnecessary—and, indeed, would be redundant—because there are countless monuments and memorials to generals on horseback, soldiers, statesmen, businessmen, and other male notables dispersed throughout the commonwealth. How Virginia women have been remembered—or, more commonly, how they have been misremembered or forgotten—is an important theme in many of the essays in these volumes.[3]

Taken collectively, the essays in the two volumes of *Virginia Women: Their Lives and Times* represent a major step in the direction of redressing this frustratingly persistent historiographical imbalance. A few of the women featured here are famous and have even been the subject of book-length biographies:

First Lady Dolley Madison, Pulitzer Prize–winning novelist Ellen Glasgow, the iconic singer Patsy Cline.[4] The essays in these books offer new insights into the lives of even these very well-known subjects. Others, such as the Civil War spy Elizabeth Van Lew and the civil rights activist Sarah Patton Boyle, are well known among historians and, indeed, have been the subjects of fine scholarly work, but we aim to introduce these Virginia women to a wider audience.[5] Most of the women whose stories are included in this collection, however, are comparatively unknown, even among historians. In some cases, the information an author presents here may be all we will ever know about her subject.

In choosing the subjects for this two-volume collection, one of our main objectives was to show how the experiences of Virginia women varied by race, class, age, marital status, and sexual orientation, and across both space and time. We were most successful in achieving fairly balanced geographic coverage and a roughly equitable chronological distribution. Volume 1 begins with chapters on four very different sorts of seventeenth-century women: a white woman of marginal means who was rumored to be a witch; a white trader and a Pamunkey Indian leader, both of whom played important roles in Bacon's Rebellion; and a mixed-race woman who was remarkably adept at using Virginia's courts and laws to defend her own (and her children's) freedom. Essays that focus on the Civil War and Reconstruction eras are respectively situated at the end of the first volume and the beginning of the second, which closes with two chapters that provide dramatically different windows onto the late twentieth century. One of these concluding essays focuses on two northern Virginia women who secured election to the state legislature in the 1960s and rose to leadership positions by the 1980s. The other compares the experiences of two lesbian mothers who were involved in highly publicized child custody cases—with vastly different outcomes—in the 1990s.

Beyond the issues of chronology and geography, however, observant readers will notice that certain categories of women seem under- or overrepresented. For the most part, these imbalances result from a lack of sources, especially for the earlier periods when the vast majority of Virginia women were illiterate, and relatively few surviving public or private documents provide information about their lives. On the one hand, only two essays in our first volume deal with women of African American descent, both of whom were atypical because they were mixed race and free. Historians know about Jane Webb and Harriet Hemings only because Webb was a frequent litigant and Hemings was the daughter of Thomas Jefferson: these extraordinary women left their marks in court records and family papers, respectively. On the other hand, widows are seemingly overrepresented in volume 1 both because most early American women—who were typically younger than their husbands—eventually became widows and because widows had both family responsibilities and legal rights that made them far more likely than other women to leave an evidentiary trail in the form

of either private letters or public documents. (Despite significant changes in state law as a result of the Revolution, Virginians did not abandon the English common-law doctrine of coverture—which prevented wives from owning and controlling property—until after the Civil War.) An important turning point, widowhood often led women to become more heavily involved in religious or civic activities or in managing family businesses or properties. Happily for historians, all of these undertakings produced letters, ledgers, and public documents that we can use to reconstruct their lives.

Recognizing the significant variations among women's lived experiences, we nonetheless embrace the findings of a generation of historians who have shown that gender matters profoundly in shaping women's lives.[6] As readers make their way through these volumes, they will encounter events and topics that punctuate conventional surveys of Virginia history and American history generally. The American Revolution, westward migration, industrialization, the Civil War, Progressive reform, and the long struggle for African American freedom and equality are all here, but these familiar historical mileposts often look different from the perspective of the essays' female subjects. In early Virginia, for instance, most free women—along with children, slaves, and the mentally ill—were subservient dependents under a legal system that white men cherished as a bulwark of their rights and liberties. A century later, when men sought prosperity and independence on the western frontier, women found jobs, female companionship, and opportunities for philanthropy and other forms of meaningful public activism in the growing cities of the commonwealth. In the antebellum era, motherhood discouraged most African American women from joining men's efforts to flee slavery, and the same concern for children led their female descendants to devise innovative strategies to educate black youth when public schools closed in the 1960s in an attempt to stop court-ordered desegregation.

Paying attention to women's experiences sometimes destabilizes widely accepted metanarratives, the big stories that we construct to discern meaning in the past. For example, the prevailing interpretation of the history of the Virginia colony has been a story of progress: in the eighteenth century, according to this argument, stability, prosperity, and harmony supplanted disease, death, and social conflict. Our contributors, however, tell a different story, one in which perceived stability and harmony rested on patriarchy and white supremacy, as law, demography, and custom combined to suppress the autonomy of women, blacks, and Indians, thereby improving status of white men and easing tensions among them. To counter the overly simplistic narratives that emphasize Virginia's leadership in the Civil War era—when Richmond was the capital of the Confederacy and Arlington's Robert E. Lee was the revered commander of the rebel forces—historians have shown that Virginia women's attitudes toward the war (and toward the issue of slavery, which caused it) often were moderate, ambiguous, or even radically heterodox. The most pervasive American narra-

tive of all, which sees history as a progressive triumph of democracy, also looks different from the perspective of Virginia feminists, whose state waited until 1952 to accept the Nineteenth Amendment (which, in 1920, gave adult women the right to vote) and never ratified the ERA, despite the fact that polls showed that most Virginians supported it.[7]

Taken together, these essays form a cautiously optimistic narrative of Virginia women's history. Women's rights have expanded over time: enslaved women became free; wives became property holders; women of all races attained greater access to education, employment, suffrage, and other basic civil rights. Despite this overarching theme of improvement and progress, however, some gains have been slow in coming, and improvements in education, income, working conditions, and other areas have varied by class, race, and region.

Above all, the chapters in these volumes represent a small but compelling sample of the diversity and complexity of Virginia women's experiences during four centuries. In the colonial period, Virginia women were slaves and servants, but they were also ladies who owned (and sometimes mistreated) their servants and slaves. In the nineteenth century, Virginia women worked in factories, wrote novels, did religious and benevolence work, honored Confederate defenders of slavery and white supremacy, and strove to improve the circumstances of freed African Americans and poor whites. Generations later, some Virginia women fought hard to preserve time-honored gender and racial hierarchies, opposing women's suffrage and defending Jim Crow, while others devoted themselves to progressive causes, such as labor unions, the ERA, and civil rights. But as many of these essays show, women's choices were not always quite so stark. Some slaveholding women who claimed to hate slavery acted on those principles, though many others did not. Strong, independent women paid lip service to traditional gender ideals that relegated white southern women to passive dependence. Improvements in education could lead women into professional careers, or schooling could be preparation for domestic life as, indeed, it has been since the post-Revolutionary era.

All of the essays in *Virginia Women: Their Lives and Times* speak to one or more of our three overarching themes for this collection: making women visible, recovering women's voices, and chronicling both the better- and lesser-known ways in which Virginia women strove—often on the public stage—to improve society and to obtain and protect their rights. Rather than the conventional editors' summary of each chapter and its author's contributions, what follows is an elaboration on each of these three themes, with specific references to the women who are the subjects in this volume.

The women profiled in volume 2 left much more visible trails of their lives and activities than did the subjects whose biographies appear in the first volume. Born between the early nineteenth and the mid-twentieth centuries, virtually all of these women were educated and literate. Like a number of their

predecessors, they wrote letters and kept diaries or other accounts of their lives, but many more of these documents have survived than was the case earlier in Virginia history. Ellen Glasgow, the award-winning author of twenty novels and numerous essays and reviews, is the only well-known literary figure included here—but the published writings of other women in this volume provide us with valuable insights into their lives and work. Many also had articles written about them in contemporary newspapers or journals, making the women in volume 2 visible to their contemporaries (and to historians) in ways that women who lived in earlier times were not.

Thanks to the advent of photography and recording technology, we also know what most of these women looked like and in some cases what they sounded like. The most recognizable face, even more than fifty years after her death, is that of country singer Patsy Cline, but Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph's image would have been familiar to most southern whites of her day, who followed the work of the United Daughters of the Confederacy and the other Confederate memorial organizations in which she was active. Mildred Loving and Sharon Bottoms were reluctant celebrities, but their likenesses appeared on television screens and in newspapers across the country when their historic court cases were in the news. There are extant recordings of interviews with artist and suffragist Adèle Clark, civil rights leader Vivian Carter Mason, and home demonstration program participants Edna Hulvey and Lucille Masincupp, among others. If only we could hear the voices of volume 1's Dolley Madison, Harriet Hemings, or Nottoway chief Edy Turner speaking in her native language.

With the exception of Lucy Goode Brooks, who grew up enslaved, the women featured in this volume had access to an elementary and usually a secondary school education. Close to half took some college classes or benefited from other postsecondary training, and several (among them historian and preservationist Marie Kimball, civil rights leader Vivian Carter Mason, and legislators Dorothy McDiarmid and Mary Marshall) earned their bachelor's degrees. The subjects of these essays valued education and believed that it was an essential foundation for a successful and productive life.

Many were involved in efforts to expand access to education, especially for other women and African Americans whose educational opportunities throughout most of Virginia history had never been equal to those of white males. In 1868 northern-born Caroline Putnam established a school for black children in rural Northumberland County and kept her school open, despite the hostility of her white neighbors, until her death in 1917. In the 1880s and 1890s Orra Langhorne used the power of her pen to promote the efforts of Hampton Institute, founded at the end of the Civil War to provide postsecondary education and training for the first generation of free African Americans. In 1912 United Daughters of the Confederacy organizer Janet Randolph spoke

passionately before a General Assembly committee urging the establishment at the all-male University of Virginia of a coordinate college for women. With extremely limited resources Louise Jackson, Flossie Hudson, Beactrice Davenport and other intrepid African American women living in Prince Edward County established local grassroots schools that operated from 1959 through the early 1960s to educate their communities' children in the period when the county closed its public schools rather than integrate them as required under the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. Massive resistance, the policy adopted by Virginia's state government to block the desegregation of public schools, also prompted Dorothy McDiarmid and Mary Marshall to become involved in politics for the first time as parents committed to integrating Virginia's public schools. Later, as legislators, they supported increasing the state's investment in public education at all levels and helped enact state policies that promoted equal access to education for all Virginians.

Education was only one of the causes that Virginia women embraced in the century following the Civil War. From the 1860s onward, women formed or joined countless voluntary organizations dedicated to improving the lives of others, reforming society, and expanding civil and political rights. Immediately following the Civil War, Lucy Goode Brooks worked with other members of her church's Ladies' Sewing Circle for Charitable Work to found an orphanage for impoverished or abandoned African American children in postwar Richmond. Women's organizations were instrumental in the movement to secure legislation that shortened hours and improved working conditions for Matoaca and Danville textile mill workers such as Anthelia Holt and Della Connor. As a young wife Vivian Carter Mason joined organizations such as the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA, the Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority, and the Clover Leaf Art Club, which were dedicated to improving the lives of Norfolk's African American citizens. Over time her work with these local groups led her to become involved in national associations such as the National Federation of Colored Women's Clubs and the National Council of Negro Women, where she met and worked closely with Mary McLeod Bethune, Dorothy Height, and other noted black educators and civil rights pioneers.

Women discovered, however, that without the right to vote their influence was limited. Securing that right became an important focus of women's activism in the early twentieth century. Adèle Clark, a founding member of the Virginia Equal Suffrage League in 1909, credited her initial interest in women's suffrage to her desire to do something to protect young children in the workplace. Working as a clerk in a Richmond insurance company, she learned that children employed in cotton mills had higher insurance rates than other workers because they were likely to die at an early age from inhaling large quantities of lint in poorly ventilated factories. Clark was at the forefront of the campaign to win Virginia women the right to vote, and once suffrage was a reality she founded

the Virginia League of Women Voters to encourage women to use their votes to effect change.

Sometimes women's efforts to expand rights for themselves and others were prompted by personal circumstances rather than their membership in organizations. Charlottesville resident Sarah Patton Boyle was a restless homemaker looking for a cause in the early 1950s when she became interested in the movement to integrate first the University of Virginia and then her local public schools. She quickly learned that before she could be an effective advocate for civil rights, she had to overcome the biases of her traditional southern upbringing and her naïve view of African Americans. With the help of an African American newspaper publisher, T. J. Sellers, she embarked on a personal journey to understand the civil rights movement from the perspective of black Virginians and made her most important contribution by chronicling the intellectual and emotional transformation she experienced in her moving autobiography, *The Desegregated Heart*. Mildred Loving, a young woman of mixed race, simply wanted to live an ordinary life in the small rural community in Caroline County where she had been born and raised. Once she fell in love with and married Richard Loving, a white man, her world was turned upside down as Virginia law prohibited marriage between people of different races. Rather than live permanently in exile, she and her husband agreed to be plaintiffs in what ultimately became the landmark Supreme Court case *Loving v. Virginia*, which overturned Virginia's miscegenation ban. Neither Sharon Bottoms nor Linda Kaufman set out to advance gay and lesbian rights when they engaged in legal battles to secure parental custody of a child in Bottoms's case, and in Kaufman's the ability to adopt a child. Nonetheless, their court cases highlighted the discrimination that gay and lesbian Virginians faced in their everyday lives and convinced Kaufman and her partner Liane Rozell to become activists on behalf of LGBT issues.

In the course of their community work, several women in this volume found career opportunities. Returning to Richmond in the 1890s following graduation from the Johns Hopkins Hospital Training School for Nurses, Sadie Heath Cabaniss organized Virginia's first training school for nurses and established a Nurses' Settlement to provide basic medical services to the city's poor. Her efforts to improve the quality of community health care were hampered, however, by the prevailing view in the medical establishment that nursing was a semiskilled occupation. To change this perception and ensure that career-minded women would view nursing as a desirable field for their life's work, Cabaniss formed a state association for graduate nurses and lobbied Virginia authorities to create a certification board for professional nurses. Ruth Jamison took what she expected to be a temporary job with the Augusta County home demonstration program in the late 1920s but soon became fully engaged in the work. Later recalling that it was "so much bigger and so much better" than

teaching, Jamison left Augusta County in 1935 to accept a position in the state extension office in Blacksburg, where she spent her entire career. She earned her BS and MA degrees in home economics at Columbia University, became a specialist in rural electrification and housing, and served as president of the Virginia Home Economics Association.

Each of the women featured in this volume had relationships in her life that inspired and encouraged her work, provided counsel and professional guidance, or sustained her personally. Lucy Goode Brooks's support from her husband and love for her own children, whom she tried to protect from sale in the 1850s, led her to establish the first orphanage for black youth in Richmond after the Civil War. Caroline Putnam's close friendship with her life partner, abolitionist Sallie Holley, inspired her fifty-year commitment to educating Virginia's former slaves and their descendants. Orra Gray Langhorne's views on race relations and education (enlightened for her time) were strongly influenced by her relationships with her father Algernon Gray, her educator uncle William Henry Ruffner, and Hampton Institute president Hollis Frissell. Sadie Heath Cabaniss formed lasting friendships with Isabel Hampton, Lavinia Dock, and Adelaide Nutting, pioneers in the nursing profession. Their examples in turn offered her a model for her own mentorship of young nurses. Vivian Carter Mason's career benefited from her close association with educator and civil rights activist Mary McLeod Bethune, while Sarah Patton Boyle's civil rights work was enhanced by the mentorship of newspaper editor T. J. Sellers. Marie Kimball's scholarly career grew from the opportunities that her marriage to historian Fiske Kimball made possible, while Patsy Cline's relationship with Owen Bradley lifted her career and gave rise to the Nashville sound in country music. Mildred and Richard Loving's marriage itself was the reason that their story made history. Whether the relationship was between parent and child, husband and wife, mentor and protégé, or romantic friends, the vital connections in the lives of these women played an important role in advancing women's rights and social reform.

All of these women have terrific stories with important implications for how we think about the history of Virginia, the South, and the United States generally. We hope that scholars and teachers will use these essays to enrich their own work and that general readers will appreciate the opportunity to move beyond the curiously resilient stereotypes of southern women's history. These examples demonstrate some of the myriad ways in which women have influenced and even changed the history of the Old Dominion—both on their own and alongside men—and also the complex and varying ways in which gender shaped their lives.

NOTES

1. Information about the women mentioned in this paragraph can be found in Cynthia A. Kierner, Jennifer R. Loux, and Megan Taylor Shockley, *Changing History: Virginia Women through Four*

Centuries (Richmond: Library of Virginia, 2013), on the following pages: Pocahontas, 6–7; Berkeley, 19, 20, 21; Rathell, 31, 39, 40, 41, 56–57; Terrell, 57, 60; Randolph, 104, 126; Minor, 97–98; Keckley, 110, 111, 112; Valentine, 223, 229, 233, 234; Nordlinger, 333, 334, 335–36; Bobbitt, 348.

2. The classic twentieth-century survey of Virginia history, which went through multiple editions, is Virginius Dabney, *Virginia, The New Dominion: A History from 1607 to the Present* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1971). Of the women who are the subjects of essays in our two volumes, only Mary Ingles Draper and Ellen Glasgow appear in Dabney's book. The quadricentennial surveys are Ronald L. Heinemann et al., *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth: A History of Virginia, 1607–2007* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), and Peter Wallenstein, *Cradle of America: Four Centuries of Virginia History* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007). Wallenstein is by far the more inclusive of the two newer surveys, including more material on women and on social and cultural history generally. For the difference between "contribution" history and using the history of women and gender to interrogate the existing narrative, see Gerda Lerner, "Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges," *Feminist Studies* 3 (1975): 5–14.

3. On the monument, see the press release dated March 28, 2013, at http://womensmonumentcom.virginia.gov/PDFs/WomenMonumentRelease.pdf, and more generally the material on the Women's Monument Commission website at http://womensmonumentcom.virginia.gov/ (accessed May 21, 2013).

4. Full-length biographies of the better-known women who are the topics of essays in this collection include Catherine Allgor, *A Perfect Union: Dolley Madison and the Creation of an American Nation* (New York: Henry Holt, 2006); Susan Goodman, *Ellen Glasgow: A Biography* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); and Margaret Jones, *Patsy: The Life and Times of Patsy Cline* (New York: HarperCollins, 1994).

5. See Elizabeth R. Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy: The True Story of Elizabeth Van Lew, a Union Agent in the Heart of the Confederacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); and Jennifer Ritterhouse, "Introduction," in Sarah Patton Boyle, *The Desegregated Heart: A Virginian's Stand in the Time of Transition* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001).

6. See especially Joan Wallach Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91 (1996): 1053–75.

7. A 1979 poll found that 59 percent of Virginians favored passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, which failed by one vote in the state senate in 1982. See Kierner et al., *Changing History*, 327–29.

Lucy Goode Brooks

Measures of Freedom

CATHERINE A. JONES

❀ ❀ ❀

On July 4, 1865, the first Independence Day after the conclusion of the Civil War, African American men, women, and children paraded through the streets of Richmond jubilantly exercising freedoms that had long been denied them. As both celebrations and displays of power, these gatherings manifested black Richmonders' commitment to making emancipation mean much more than the absence of slavery. One ex-Confederate soldier who recorded his reflections on the day reserved particular contempt for what he saw as a double inversion: "miscegenating women reading the 'The Declaration of Independence' to a procession of negroes (Freedmen, &) in the capital grounds and on the portico of the time honored Capitol of ours."[1] Not only had black citizens claimed a space and a document that many Virginians had defended as the exclusive birthright of whites; women gave the new order voice in the most public site of white male authority. While this scene, almost unimaginable five years earlier, conveyed a powerful sense of rupture, both the participants and those seething on the sidelines knew that they were entering a new phase of struggle over the meaning of freedom where gender and race remained potent categories.[2]

The complex lives of African American women defy historians' efforts to chart clear narratives of progress through the contradictions of Reconstruction. Although the Civil War ended slavery for all, the struggle over citizenship rights that ultimately brought suffrage to African American men excluded women. Indeed, some historians have cast emancipation as a half measure when it came to women precisely because legal and cultural conventions regarding household order left many subject to the authority of fathers and husbands. Further, the legal dependency that justified women's exclusions utterly failed to protect them from labor exploitation and political violence. Despite these impediments, how-

LUCY GOODE BROOKS

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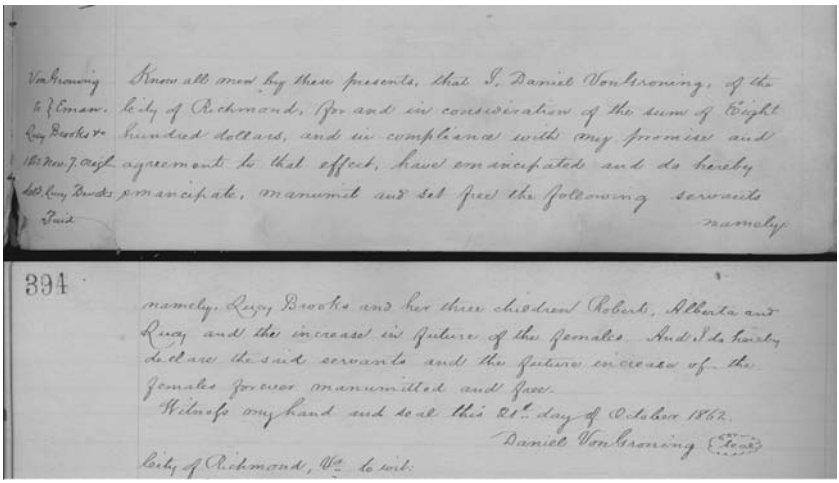

Vom Groening
to
Comm.
Lucy Brooks &c
Rec'd Nov 7. 1862

Know all men by these presents, that I, Daniel Vonbroening, of the
City of Richmond, for and in consideration of the sum of Eight
hundred dollars, and in compliance with my promise and
agreement to that effect, have emancipated and do hereby
emancipate, manumit and set free the following servants
namely

Lucy Brooks
Paid

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namely: Lucy Brooks and her three children Robert, Alberta and
Lucy and the increase in future of the females. And I do hereby
declare the said servants and the future increase of the
females forever manumitted and free.
Witness my hand and seal this 21st day of October 1862.

Daniel Vonbroening (Seal)

City of Richmond, Va. to wit:

DEED OF MANUMISSION FOR LUCY GOODE BROOKS AND THREE OF HER CHILDREN

Dated October 21, 1862

(Richmond City Hustings Court Deed Book 78A:393–394).

Courtesy of the Library of Virginia.

ever, freed women created new political possibilities, declaiming in the streets, challenging employers, confronting hostile courts to condemn their tormentors, and even forming militias. They also pursued political action in quieter modes developed before emancipation. Following women's varied paths through slavery, war, and emancipation reveals that a full narrative of Virginia's Reconstruction must be attentive to continuities as well as ruptures. The life of Lucy Goode Brooks brings these dynamics into focus.[3]

Brooks honed strategies for carving out measures of freedom within the constraints of slavery that later enabled her to advocate for an expansive understanding of emancipation. Born enslaved in Virginia in 1818, she knew freedom as a numinous idea that had to be measured in concrete terms. Even after she herself had been manumitted, she struggled to protect her children, free and enslaved. In the wake of the Civil War, she took up the cause of orphaned African American children in the city of Richmond. Building on relationships forged during slavery and taking advantage of new postemancipation possibilities, Lucy Goode Brooks helped establish the Friends' Asylum for Colored Orphans, which began receiving children in 1868. Her effort to protect children separated from kin revealed an understanding of freedom that deepened, rather than nullified, mutual obligation.

Brooks, like the city she lived in, defied generalizations about antebellum slavery. She did not work in the booming cotton fields of the southwest but in a bustling Upper South city that embraced technological innovation and adapted slavery to new modes of manufacturing. Although enslaved, a priest solemnized her marriage to Albert Brooks, also enslaved, and they and their children lived in a household independent of their masters. Brooks and her hometown reveal the complexity beneath the familiar narrative of increasingly stark differences between the "Slave South" and the "Free North." For Brooks, the decades before the Civil War were defined not by a steady dynamic of improvement or deterioration but instead by fluctuating possibilities for claiming degrees of freedom within the limits of slavery. In a city where wage workers labored alongside slaves and white slaveholders tacked between reform and reaction, Brooks exercised an unusual degree of control over her own life and the lives of her children. Rather than taking up arms or taking flight, she engaged in a distinctive politics of resistance that exploited Richmond's contradictions to challenge slavery's denial of the personhood and moral capacity of enslaved people.[4]

Although Virginia was the birthplace of American chattel slavery and became home to the capital of an upstart nation that sought to ensure its future in perpetuity, slavery's place within the state was contested. In the wake of the American Revolution some Virginians, convinced that slavery was irreconcilable with the ideals and practical needs of a republican government, challenged its future in the state through uprisings and private manumissions. By the time Brooks was born in 1818, the revolutionary ferment in Virginia had died down,

but the presence of free people of color and enslaved people of white ancestry continued to trouble claims that black people were natural slaves and that slavery was an organic feature of the social order. Although much about Lucy Brooks's early life is unclear, she is believed to be the daughter of Judith Goode, an enslaved woman, and an unknown white man. Throughout her life, her fair complexion conveyed her intimate connections to white Virginians as well as black. Whether her parents' relationship was the violent flexing of power and privilege or a product of mutual regard and affection, it created bonds of kinship that quietly challenged ideas of absolute racial difference. Brooks's decision to keep her mother's last name and pass it on to one of her daughters suggests that connections to that family remained important to her throughout her life.[5]

For Brooks, as for many enslaved people in nineteenth-century Virginia, the horizon of freedom was dynamic, sometimes feeling close enough to touch and in other moments receding to a distance that seemed unreachable. When she was a child, Nat Turner's rebellion jolted Virginians out of their relative complacency regarding slavery's stability and once again thrust the question of its future into the center of political debate. In 1830 the distant rumblings of abolitionist activism in northern states became unsettlingly close when copies of David Walker's *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*, an incendiary condemnation of slavery, arrived in Richmond. A year later Nat Turner, inspired by a deep sense of personal grievance and divine inspiration, led a blood-soaked campaign of vengeance in Southampton that seemed to fulfill Walker's predictions regarding the future awaiting the South if it did not abolish slavery. In the year that followed, the Virginia legislature debated whether slavery had become too dangerous to retain. After months of debate, however, the proposal to do away with the institution of slavery failed, and the state instead turned to strengthening mechanisms for policing the institution. By the time Lucy Brooks was a teenager, then, she had heard stories of slave rebellion and the bloody reprisals that followed. She had heard talk of the imminent end of slavery that instead dissolved into a deepened commitment to making the disabilities of slave status more profound and the lives of free people of color more insecure. When the goal of a world without slavery felt out of reach, Brooks, like many others, sought measures of freedom, which might ultimately stimulate far-reaching historical change. Her embrace of Christianity would play an important part in this endeavor.[6]

In 1838 Lucy Brooks joined the First Baptist Church, an institution that condoned slavery yet also provided an important platform for black Richmonders' challenges to its injustices. Despite its defense of slavery's morality, the church's theology made it a space where enslaved people and free people of color from across the city worshiped and learned together. The rapid growth in black church membership suggests that Baptists' egalitarian emphasis on individual conversion experience, evangelical zeal, and rigorous understanding of personal

morality held great appeal to many African Americans in the early nineteenth century. Brooks was one of about two thousand church members, more than 80 percent of whom were African American. As the number of black congregants grew, they pressed more fervently for an independent church and succeeded in forming the First African Baptist Church in 1841, despite popular objections that it would be a den of insurrection. Although the new church was required to have a white pastor and a body of white supervisors from First Baptist, it gave African American members greater control over services and church discipline.[7]

For Lucy Brooks and other members of First African Baptist, the church community fostered valuable relationships and deep moral convictions. The church minutes for the 1840s and 1850s reveal a congregation that held its members to rigorous standards in matters of personal morality such as marital fidelity. For example, following an internal church trial, Henry Atkins was found guilty of adultery and abandoning his wife and was consequently "excluded from the fellowship of the church."[8] The appeal of a community that was quick to condemn members' failings within a society that made assertions of black inferiority the backbeat of its political and cultural life can be elusive. Nevertheless, the growing ranks of the church suggest that its members, including one as faithful as Lucy Brooks, found meaning in this discipline. Holding each other to account within the church both affirmed individual capacity for moral judgment and created opportunities, albeit under white surveillance, for collective self-governance. Church members further extended themselves as benefactors to the needy in Richmond and missions across the globe, challenging depictions of African Americans as perpetual supplicants. Participating in the rigors of this church community undermined the defense of slavery that insisted slaves were debased people who had to remain enslaved precisely because they were incapable of self-control. The congruence between the spiritual practices of the church, including self-discipline and engagement in the world, and Brooks's own apparent sense of self and place in the world underscores its importance in her life both before and after emancipation.[9]

Although white proponents of religious instruction for slaves were anxious to suggest that the spiritual pursuit of freedom from sin should displace a literal quest for freedom from slavery, black Baptists evinced a more complex understanding of the relationship between spiritual and temporal realms. Participation in the church did not produce a singular political outlook, as evidenced by the diverse strategies members of First African Baptist employed in contending with the contradictions of life in a slave society. For some, life in Liberia seemed to hold promise as a place where they might fulfill a sense of Christian mission and exercise the rights they despaired of ever attaining in Virginia. Others, born free or manumitted, determined they could only realize the full measure of their freedom by moving to the free states. For Henry Brown, a member of the church

who famously escaped slavery by having himself shipped to Philadelphia in a box, the quest for freedom went hand in hand with a critique of the church's compromise with slavery. He condemned the First African Baptist Church as a "pious fraud" that robbed its supporters of what "little sums of money as might occasionally drop into their hands, and with which they might have been assisted in effecting their escape."[10] What Brown dismissed as irredeemably exploitative, other members valued as a resource that helped them shape their lives even within the confines of slavery.[11]

Church members, united in their opposition to slavery, pursued sharply differing strategies in resisting its ravages. Although circumstances limited Brooks's options, considering her life in Richmond as, in part, a choice sheds light on what measures of freedom mattered most to her. She did not embark on a voyage to Liberia. Like most enslaved women in Virginia, who made up fewer than 10 percent of runaways in the late antebellum era, she did not make a daring escape to the free North. For Brooks and many other enslaved Richmonders, resistance took the form of social reproduction—building communities, sustaining families, and carving out spaces of cultural autonomy—in the state that had been their home for generations.

Brooks's ability to establish a more autonomous family life than most enslaved people could have hoped for depended on access to independent earnings and skillful negotiation of complex relationships with white Richmonders. In the same year that Brooks joined the First African Baptist Church, she faced a potentially devastating transition: the death of her master. The death of an owner marked the beginning of a period of profound uncertainty for slaves when their chattel status, often subsumed in day-to-day life, became preeminent. Even those who avoided being auctioned off to settle debts or resolve inheritance disputes faced family separations as they were moved to the households of heirs. At the age of twenty, Lucy Goode, later Brooks, found herself the property of a new owner, Samuel Sublett. Within the limits of the relationship between slave and master, Sublett appears to have been a man with whom Brooks could negotiate. Perhaps motivated by religion, the convictions of his Massachusetts-born wife, the promise of compensation, or some combination of the above, Sublett consented to a marriage between Lucy Goode and Albert Brooks in 1839. Although the ceremony, performed by an Episcopal priest in the Subletts' drawing room, conferred no legal protections on the relationship, it afforded religious sanction and social recognition. What Sublett may have imagined as a magnanimous gesture of a master to a slave, Lucy and Albert Brooks likely envisioned as a means of obliging their masters to honor their commitment, grounded in a shared understanding of Christian marriage.[12]

The city that Lucy and Albert Brooks called home, perhaps even more than the masters who claimed them, shaped the life they built together. By the time they were adults, a distinctive economy had developed in Richmond that en-

abled some enslaved people to live apart from their masters, accumulate earnings, and sometimes even acquire their freedom. Richmond's emergence as a center of southern manufacturing depended on slave labor to work its foundries, mill its grain, and, most prominently, process its tobacco. Rather than finding slave labor and industrialization incompatible, Richmond manufacturers discovered that they could strategically employ both enslaved and wage workers to restrict labor militancy while adapting market incentives to extract additional work from slaves. The labor requirements of manufacturing in Richmond created opportunities for male slaves to accumulate earnings through bonuses for overwork—that is, work exceeding the already high expectations of manufacturers—thereby creating a narrow, arduous path toward self-purchase.[13]

Gendered patterns of employment that largely confined women to domestic and laundry work meant that enslaved women were much less likely than men to be able to hire their time or accumulate earnings. Nevertheless, the city afforded men and women valuable opportunities to build relationships with other enslaved people that could be the basis of cooperation and shared economic strategies. As Brooks entered adulthood, stringent laws aimed at circumscribing black people's lives proliferated across the South, but in Richmond, hunger for profits and confidence in the stability of the social order ensured that such laws were broken almost as soon as they were passed. Lucy and Albert Brooks exploited the openings Richmond provided to build autonomous space within the constraints of their slave status.

Lucy Brooks's actions as a young enslaved woman suggest that building a family and protecting it from the violence of slavery were of paramount importance to her. Her marriage to Albert Brooks was an important foundation for this work. Albert was part of the migration of slaves into Richmond from surrounding counties, hired out by masters who could earn more from their factory wages than working them at home. By the time of his marriage to Lucy Goode, though still enslaved, Albert Brooks was also working at his own direction as a driver. His earnings were crucial to the independence he and Lucy created as a family. In order to live together, the couple had to pay for their housing, get a free person to sign a rental contract on their behalf (since slaves were legally unable to do so), and likely pay Lucy's owner for the labor he was forgoing by allowing her to live out with her husband. It is unclear whether Lucy continued to work at the home of her master or could direct her labor exclusively toward their growing household.

Although domestic work had some advantages, it also created vulnerabilities to violence and sexual exploitation. A family story that Lucy Brooks was the victim of sexual assault at the hands of her first owner's son suggests that she may have felt particular urgency to insulate herself and her children from the hazards of being islanded in the houses of employers with nearly unrestricted authority. Perhaps she and her children worked at the "snackhouse" Albert Brooks

ran in addition to his stable, getting to know other enslaved and free people who also lived out in their neighborhood. In their first two decades together, Lucy and Albert Brooks built meaningful lives, working, raising children, and burying children. Hanging over the joys and hardships that attended their lives, however, was a deep understanding that a measure of domestic independence was not the same thing as freedom.[14]

Whenever the Brookses made their way to worship at First African Baptist Church, they were only a few blocks away from Wall Street where the jails that housed slaves awaiting sale clustered together. Slave traders proliferated across Virginia as the state became one of the chief suppliers to the brutal, booming interstate slave trade that fueled the cotton South. While a few Virginians experimented with adapting slave labor to the needs of manufacturing, many more responded to the Deep South's seemingly limitless demand for labor by selling their own slaves south. More than 875,000 men, women, and children were forced to make the long journey by boat or over land from their Upper South homes to the plantations of the Deep South between 1820 and 1860. The emotional and social destruction the enterprise left in its wake echoed through families across the South.[15]

Brooks knew that being a child was no protection from the slave market. A visitor to Richmond in 1853 described the discordant scene he encountered when he entered a trading house there. He saw "three negro children, who, as I entered, were playing at auctioneering each other. . . . The little auctioneer continued his mimic play, and appeared to enjoy the joke of selling the girl, who stood demurely by his side. . . . I left them, happy in rehearsing what was likely soon to be their own fate."[16] Children's incorporation of the auction block into their play points to the mundanity of the practices of the slave marketplace while their presence in the auction house illuminated the market's disregard for conventions of family or deference to age. The passage underscores that while Richmond provided a path to freedom for a small number of slaves, for many more it was a stop on a long, brutal journey into the interregional slave trade. Brooks knew that all the contacts her husband made through his livery business, all the community esteem their faithful participation in church could command, all the appeals to honor and obligation they could make to their owners could not fully insulate her children or herself from the profound vulnerability of sale. In 1858 circumstances compelled the Brookses to employ all the tools at their disposal—financial resources, knowledge of the city, and personal connections—in the effort to protect their family from rupture.[17]

Once again, the death of an owner threatened the relative security the Brookses had created. In their first decade as a family, their financial fortunes had improved; Albert Brooks, along with his partner James Turner, owned a livery stable and by the start of the Civil War claimed ten hacks and twenty-two horses. Many factors likely influenced the decision to invest their earnings in

business rather than purchasing freedom for members of the family. Confidence in the security of their situation, fear of the laws calling for the expulsion or reenslavement of free people of color, uncooperative owners, or a long-range family strategy, may have all played a part. When Samuel Sublett died in financial distress the fragile arrangement that had enabled the family to live together was at risk.[18]

The Brookses, not the first enslaved Richmonders to confront the threat of sale, understood the perils of finding a trustworthy buyer. Ten years earlier, Henry Brown had discovered what flimsy protection an owner's promise could be. After four years of paying Samuel Cottrell for the privilege of having the Brown family live together, the arrangement fell apart when Cottrell decided to sell Brown's wife and children to satisfy his debts. Brown frantically tried to find a local purchaser only to be rebuffed by his owner and other free acquaintances. Neither diligence nor saving nor social connections enabled Henry Brown to prevent his wife of twelve years and their children from being sold south. Such stories must have haunted the Brookses as they undertook the delicate operation of finding new masters.[19]

Some members of the family emerged from this moment of transition on a defined path to freedom. When Daniel Von Groning, a German immigrant, tobacco merchant, and sometime diplomat, purchased Lucy and their two youngest children in 1858, he promised to manumit them on payment of $800. The birth of another child a few years later made him the owner of four Brookses. Although the reason for the Brookses' confidence in Von Groning is unclear—perhaps his foreignness increased his sympathy for the family's plight, or a thicket of shared business relationships raised the social costs of violating his promise to them—it would turn out to be well placed. It is difficult to reconstruct the considerations that must have gone into deciding which family members to make part of this arrangement. Albert Brooks had been working toward his freedom with his master for some years, although it is unclear precisely when he secured his manumission. The family likely prioritized the purchase of the youngest children because they were more vulnerable to sale, given their limited labor capacity in the short term. Whatever the reasoning, the decision put the four remaining children on very different paths.[20]

If freedom for everyone was an ultimate goal, family integrity was Lucy Brooks's primary objective in 1858. Rather than leaving the purchase of her children to the negotiation of the Sublett heirs, Brooks scoured the city searching for purchasers who would promise to let her keep the children at home while they worked out during the day. Walter, who was seven years old at the time, recalled his mother "'taking me by one hand and an elder brother by the other, walk[ing] the streets of Richmond seeking a friendly buyer who would promise her not to place her children beyond her contacts and her services.'"[21] Brooks found new owners for her three sons—Prince, sixteen; David, ten; and Walter,

seven—at the Turpin and Yarbrough tobacco processing plant. The arrangement she worked out, whereby the company got the children's labor while she provided their home and provisions, preserved family integrity. Although violence and mistreatment were well-known hazards of labor in tobacco factories, particularly for children, choosing Turpin and Yarbrough kept her sons at the same employer where, perhaps, they could look out for each other. In 1858 the family also moved to a house about a mile and a half from the factory and closer to First African Baptist Church, reinforcing overlapping circles of social and spatial knowledge. Further, not knowing that slavery would not last another ten years, Brooks might have imagined that her sons were starting on the long path to freedom others had traveled through tobacco factories across the city. Her youngest son, Walter, recalled that until 1858 he had been in "blissful ignorance of my own condition as property and the evil influences of the world outside the premises on which I was born."[22] While he may have remembered this as a period of rupture, his mother's interventions softened the blow for him and his brothers in ways that she could not for her oldest child, her daughter Margaret Ann.

No doubt Lucy Brooks was equally assiduous in seeking a place for Margaret Ann, who was seventeen at the time of the family's upheaval in 1858. Her gender made manufacturing work less available, while concerns regarding personal security and respectability may have made it undesirable, leaving domestic work with a known family the most secure position possible. Careful vetting for a reliable purchaser who would commit not to take her beyond Richmond, however, did not yield the desired outcome. The first purchasers sold her to new owners who took her to Tennessee. She died there four years later, still enslaved and separated from her family.

A surviving photographed portrait of Margaret Ann conveys the powerful challenge to slavery the Brookses mounted in late antebellum Virginia as well as its limits. The existence of the portrait itself suggests the emotional heft of the family relationships that bound the Brooks family together; its creation, acquisition, and retention across many years intimates that it served as a memorial to family connections that separation did not extinguish. Perhaps made at the time of her removal to Tennessee, the portrait shows an elegantly dressed woman with carefully coiffed hair, seated on a carved chair, holding a book in one hand. Together, the gestures and facts recorded by the camera convey material, intellectual, and spiritual attainment that defied the limits slave status was meant to impose. Yet it may also have contained a clue to her second sale; according to her brother Walter, it was her literacy that provoked her first purchasers to sell her again. By emphatically rejecting slavery's capacity to define them, even as they bent and twisted to evade its consequences, Lucy Brooks and her family struggled to build lives in which their slave status was a note usually left unsounded. Viewing the portrait in knowledge of Margaret Ann's fate makes

it a poignant demonstration of slavery's irredeemable injustice. As much as the Brookses insisted that other features of their lives should define them, and as shrewdly as they made use of the tools at their disposal to defy expectations, Margaret Ann could not outrun the chattel principle, and indeed her attainments may have made her a target of a punishing sale.[23]

For Lucy Brooks, 1858 probably dwarfed 1861 as a turning-point year. With the loss of Margaret Ann still in the future, she likely felt some relief for having survived a potentially devastating rupture, keeping most of her children together and at home, and continuing to cultivate economic independence. Intensifying sectional tensions had enflamed many Richmonders' anxieties over the relative liberties enslaved people and free people of color enjoyed in the city, prompting new laws and restrictions. The simple fact of having more than five black people living together without a master or employer put the Brookses in violation of Richmond's latest restrictive "Ordinance Concerning Negroes."[24] Nevertheless, when secession and war began to convulse life in Richmond, Lucy and Albert Brooks did not depart from their plans for manumission, suggesting that in 1862 they did not see the end of slavery as imminent and assured. They had only to hear the daily notices of slave sales in the city to know that war had not disrupted the market that had always menaced. For the Brookses, life in the Confederate capital may have only deepened their commitment to fulfilling their arrangement with Von Groning as quickly as possible. In October 1862 they paid him the promised $800, and Von Groning, good to his word, did "emancipate, manumit and set free . . . Lucy Brooks and her three children Robert, Alberta and Lucy and the increase in future of the females."[25] Although historians often write about the Civil War with an implicit assumption that slavery was on the ropes and enslaved people had only to wait for the war to bring about its inevitable end, the view from the ground was much less clear.

While the Civil War would ultimately bring a permanent end to slavery, including for the three Brooks sons who remained enslaved, in the short term it brought new dangers of material hardship and a militarized state voracious for labor and goods. Although Albert Brooks lost horses and hacks to the Confederate government, he avoided impressment. Reports of a fire at Albert Brooks's barn in 1864 that consumed "one fine horse, six pigs, a wagon, four double sets of carriage harness, and about two thousand weight of hay" reveal significant losses even as they indicate that the family maintained a measure of material stability. Lucy Brooks's labor, and the labor of the children, was no doubt critical to the family's successful negotiation of the food shortages and staggering inflation that drove other Richmond women into the streets in protest.[26]

Simply navigating the city, swollen with armed men and anxious citizens, required careful planning. Laws regulating the lives of free people of color, often honored in the breach before the war, were now stringently enforced. Free people convicted of crimes, such as Thomas White, a free boy convicted

of grand larceny, faced quick sale into "absolute slavery."[27] For Lucy Brooks, protecting her family meant ensuring that those who were enslaved had passes and those who were free could demonstrate it to the satisfaction of city officials. While many enslaved Virginians in other parts of the state fled behind Union lines, there is no evidence that any member of Lucy Brooks's family attempted the extremely dangerous enterprise of illegally leaving the militarized Confederate capital to join Union forces. Although the family's convictions regarding the injustice of slavery were manifest, flight to Union lines would have been enormously risky and would have certainly come at the cost of familial unity. While the war no doubt stimulated hopes that an end to slavery was at hand, the Brookses remained focused on the material demands of survival and how best to keep their family together.

When Confederate forces fled the capital in a blaze of fire and destruction on April 3, 1865, few Richmonders could escape the sense that they were witnessing an episode of transcendent historical change, whether it was a source of jubilation or despair. For Lucy Brooks, well versed in the ways that realities of power could hedge in freedom, joy that the slave market had at last been vanquished must have competed with a sense of wariness regarding the future. In the months immediately following Union victory, Richmond remained a dangerous place where many tasted freedom in a context marked by hunger, violence, and political instability. The risks of transition came home in striking fashion just two months after the fall of the Confederacy. Richmond police, in cooperation with federal troops, jailed Albert Brooks in June 1865 on grounds of lacking a pass from his master, despite his doubly free status. His arrest was part of a systematic effort by reactionary white southerners to exploit postwar political instability to reimpose slavery in all but name by using police and legislative powers to contravene emancipation.[28]

In the opening years of Reconstruction, the Brookses joined other African Americans striving to ensure that emancipation was the beginning, rather than the end, of redressing the wrongs of slavery. When Albert Brooks challenged his mistreatment, he explained, "I have lived here 40 years, have never received a stripe, and was never before arrested for any cause whatever—I will take oath to the above, and can refer to hundreds of the best men in this city, who will certify to my good character and veracity."[29] He grounded his challenge to the abuse of local police and Union forces in his hard-won local standing, built on personal achievement and social recognition. Rather than being cowed by political uncertainty and the menace of violence, Lucy and Albert Brooks continued to struggle to reshape the world around them and protect the family they had sustained through the hazards of slavery into the new possibilities of freedom.

Gender shaped their modes of postemancipation political action in decisive ways. Albert Brooks pushed the formal political possibilities of Reconstruction by traveling to Washington, D.C., to present a petition for black male suffrage

and sitting on the petit jury that tried Jefferson Davis. At the same time, Lucy Brooks focused on the immediate needs she witnessed in devastated postwar Richmond. She marshaled carefully cultivated social connections and skills of collective enterprise to help protect those left most vulnerable at the end of slavery: children separated from their families. Whether struggling to pursue a measure of personal freedom within a slave society or pushing a free society to make freedom more than the absence of old disabilities, Lucy Brooks demonstrated strategic flexibility and political skill.

The ruptures of war and the violence of slavery left behind orphaned children who gravitated toward the streets of Richmond. For young black children, emancipation, ironically, introduced new dangers as some masters abandoned children too young to contribute meaningful labor. Children struggling to subsist in the city provoked anxiety and contempt more often than sympathy in the Richmond press. The editor of the Richmond *Daily Dispatch* complained, "We are overrun with a swarm of juvenile rogues, who avowedly live by picking and stealing."[30] Richmond's burgeoning postwar population taxed the city's infrastructure and resources. While the Union army, and later the Freedmen's Bureau, temporarily provided rations for many suffering residents of the city, permanent care for children was another matter. To address the needs of very young orphaned children, the Freedmen's Bureau established a makeshift asylum that provided a temporary home to about a hundred children in November 1865. By the end of 1866, however, the Freedmen's Bureau's waning enthusiasm for providing material support for freedpeople led to policies aimed at shifting responsibility for orphans to local poor relief.[31]

Even as the federal government endorsed the idea that freedom had to come with the political rights necessary to protect it, it was curtailing efforts to moderate suffering in the wake of war's destruction. The withdrawal of federal support for freed orphans, by definition deficient in family support and political capacity, risked turning freedom into an empty promise for this vulnerable segment of the city's population. While the city boasted three private orphan asylums, they admitted only white children. Absent institutional or personal support, orphaned children scavenged in the city streets, leaving them subject to arrest and incarceration or temporary confinement in the overwhelmed city poorhouse. The long-term solution for orphaned children who effectively became wards of the state was apprenticeship at the discretion of the local overseers of the poor. Loosely enforced contracts provided child apprentices flimsy protection from employers who often saw the arrangement as a means of extending the prerogatives of slavery. The Freedmen's Bureau sometimes vetted apprenticeships, but the desire to remove children from relief rolls often outweighed concerns about their welfare and rights.[32]

Lucy Brooks and her friends in the Ladies' Sewing Circle for Charitable Work became champions of these children. They succeeded in spurring a coalition

of supporters to implement their vision of a permanent institution to care for orphaned black children in the city. For Brooks and many other freedwomen who had struggled to defy slavery's disruptions to family life and its failure to extend the protections of childhood to slave children, seeing children left to the dangers of the street and the abuses of white masters must have been painful and disheartening. When Brooks and her fellow asylum advocates took up the cause of socially isolated black children in their home city, they demonstrated a shared expectation that expanding and institutionalizing long-standing practices of mutual aid was essential to making freedom meaningful and inclusive.

In seeking ways to alleviate the suffering of orphaned black children, the Ladies' Sewing Circle for Charitable Work built on strategies women developed in the antebellum era to shape public life despite exclusion from formal politics. The very name constituted a challenge to racialized gender categories that denied black women could claim the respectability implicit in the label "lady." In the nineteenth century, black and white women across the South formed sewing circles to raise money for a variety of causes, from supporting overseas missions to providing medical support to soldiers. Brooks's group may even have existed in secret before Reconstruction, when laws forbidding black gatherings compelled many black mutual aid societies to operate covertly. Sewing circles were just one dimension of African American women's leadership in churches that enabled them to influence their congregations. For example, women at First African Baptist Church were responsible for soliciting subscriptions to support building construction, while women at Ebenezer Baptist organized prayer meetings in their homes. As the pastor of Ebenezer Baptist observed, "Women bore the greater part of the burden and expenses of the church."[33] Groups such as Brooks's sewing circle brought together women from several churches, providing a space for horizontal communication and coordination across congregations.[34]

Reconstruction circumstances intensified the need for a more robust response to the problem of orphaned children in the city at the same time they made it particularly difficult to gather resources. Existing orphan asylums complained of their poverty and the difficulty of raising funds needed to sustain their operations. In order to gather the financial resources necessary to support a new orphan asylum for a heretofore marginalized population, Brooks and her fellow workers had to look beyond their group and home churches. Although some people of color, like the Brookses, had achieved remarkable prosperity despite the impediments of life in antebellum Richmond, discretionary wealth was limited, and the cost of simply building and outfitting a new institution—estimated at $6,000—was high. The search for supporters who would sympathize with the endeavor, and who had access to the financial resources it required, led to the Cedar Creek Meeting of Friends. Richmond's Friends, or Quakers, as longtime opponents of slavery committed to outreach to the poor, were natural

allies. Friends had supported the Freedmen's Bureau's short-lived Richmond asylum in 1865 and 1866. Further, the Friends had a record of fair dealing with African Americans in their employ and shared the Baptists' rigorous commitment to upright living in community. This alliance, which amplified the sewing circle's capacity to raise money and lobby, helped make the asylum vision a reality.[35]

In seeking support from the Cedar Creek Meeting, Brooks's sewing circle tapped into a large network of potentially sympathetic supporters and found an able ally in John B. Crenshaw. Crenshaw, the leader of the meeting's committee on the asylum, drew on the Friends' networks of correspondence and family that extended from North Carolina to Pennsylvania and across the Atlantic to Great Britain. Beginning in 1866, he recorded donations from individuals in amounts as small as $1 and as large as $320 from the Women's Aid Society, with some of the largest single donations coming from Philadelphia and Great Britain. He also succeeded in convincing the Freedmen's Bureau and the city of Richmond to provide modest financial support to the enterprise. By October 1867 the Friends had secured a lot from the city of Richmond and had enough cash in hand to begin construction on the building itself. In May 1868 the Friends' Asylum for Colored Orphans admitted the first children to its new permanent building.[36]

The significance of the Friends' Asylum lies both in its practical consequences for the lives of orphaned children in the city and the understanding of freedom it manifested. For children deemed orphans by city courts, the asylum offered an alternative to buffeting between the streets, the poorhouse, and ill-supervised apprenticeships. Significantly, however, the asylum's charter also authorized the board to receive children "who shall be placed under its care by his parents or surviving parent."[37] This provision reveals that the asylum founders hoped it would also offer relief to parents by providing an alternative to child abandonment and even infanticide. Beyond residents' material needs, the asylum was committed to providing education to children in its charge. By 1870 the asylum maintained a school open to all orphans old enough to attend as well as other neighborhood children. In that same year, the asylum managers reported that the asylum had an average of thirty children in residence, while "thirty have been bound out, one of which has been taken back on account of cruel treatment."[38]

The asylum was not intended to be a permanent home for its residents. Like white orphan asylums in the city, the Friends' Asylum relied on apprenticeship to provide care for children as they grew older, in order to create space for new admissions. Although apprenticeship was subject to extraordinary abuse in Reconstruction, it remained a prominent tool for addressing the needs of isolated children. The character of individual apprenticeship arrangements varied greatly, depending on the level of supervision they received and from whom.

The asylum's policies on apprenticeship reflected Lucy Brooks's knowledge that, even if circumstances required a child to live apart from family, the quality of that experience hinged on the care taken in selecting the temporary home and monitoring the placement beyond the initiation of the arrangement. By 1872 the trustees charged with overseeing apprenticeships were selected from the churches that had raised money to sustain the asylum, effectively institutionalizing a role for African American leaders in supervising the care and placement of orphaned black children and thus provided a valuable alternative to city services under largely white control.

As a manifestation of the possibilities African Americans built out of the complex promise of emancipation, the Friends' Asylum revealed both an expansive understanding of what freedom should mean and a pragmatic approach to politics. Implicit in the enterprise was a critique of freedom as self-possession. Instead, the advocates of the asylum, through their actions, asserted that meaningful freedom should include a measure of security in which family relationships, or surrogate family relationships, were the first line of defense, as they had been for Lucy Goode Brooks herself. In making this aspiration a reality, advocates of the asylum effectively insisted that those who had opposed slavery as a moral evil, like the Friends, had a duty to ensure that freedom did not consign children to the morally and physically hazardous worlds of poorhouses and abusive white masters. Although nineteenth-century abolitionist critiques of slavery that focused on slavery's hostility to moral life (violations of marriage, tolerance of superstition, etc.) can appear frustratingly beside the point to modern ears, they also created space for insisting that emancipation had to mean more than jettisoning the moral contagion of slavery. While African American men in Virginia exercised voting rights gained in Reconstruction to compel the state to ensure equal protection and enduring freedom for all citizens, Brooks's sewing circle pursued the same goals through different avenues by building on relationships and reform visions developed before the war.[39]

While the orphan asylum itself was a testament to the possibilities of Reconstruction, the records left in the wake of its creation unfortunately shed precious little light on the women who helped make it a reality. John Crenshaw made no mention of Lucy Brooks in the minutes he maintained tracking the establishment of the asylum. Unlike Albert Brooks's journey to demand suffrage rights in the nation's capital, the gatherings of the Ladies' Sewing Circle for Charitable Work attracted no newspaper coverage, and their participants, many of whom were likely unable to write, left no petitions behind. By the time the asylum was incorporated, men had assumed the roles of trustees in the asylum, rather than the women who had first pushed the churches to take on this cause. Absences in the historical record are often a product of happenstance, but they can also reflect realities of power in a given historical moment. The obscurity of Lucy Brooks's work with the sewing circle reflected the ways women remained politically mar-

ginalized, despite the transformations of Reconstruction. As African American men claimed access to formal political rights, freedwomen such as Lucy Brooks continued to draw on the skills of engagement cultivated under slavery, making their own moral and material attainments a foundation for influencing those whose gender, race, or economic standing granted them greater political capacity. The art of persuasion—convincing others that their goals are the same as one's own—in part relies on the capacity to efface one's own influence.

If Lucy Brooks's role in the creation of the Friends' Asylum remains somewhat opaque, her impact on her own household is easy to discern. Just as her protection of familial integrity before the war constituted a challenge to slavery's destructiveness, her cultivation of new possibilities for herself and her children reflected a commitment to realizing the promise of freedom. In 1870, after the intense political transformations of Reconstruction had subsided somewhat, all the Brooks family members who had survived the war were living together in Richmond. Compelled to seek education illicitly in the years before emancipation, the Brookses ensured that their children were able to attend Richmond's new schools. In 1870 Robert, Alberta, and Lucy were all attending school, as were two other children living in the household, Lilla and Sallie Randolph. Perhaps the Randolph girls were children of family or friends who wanted to take advantage of schools in Richmond—one more way in which Brooks demonstrated an inclusive vision of freedom. The two oldest sons, Prince Albert and David Burr, who were twenty-two and sixteen, respectively, when they became free at the end of the war, continued to work in their father's livery stables and restaurant rather than pursue schooling. The younger sons, Robert Peele and Walter Henderson, both attended schools, first in Richmond and later at the Wilberforce Institute in Rhode Island and Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. Both sons returned to Richmond where Robert worked as a lawyer and Walter became the pastor of the Second African Baptist Church. The different paths these four brothers traveled demonstrated how emancipation changed the scope of possible futures for the Brooks sons.

Brooks's surviving daughters also enjoyed new opportunities in postemancipation Virginia. Alberta and Lucy Gertrude both graduated from the Richmond Colored High and Normal School and went on to become teachers in the city. Lucy Gertrude's daughter recalled that her mother was disappointed not to have been allowed to go north to pursue further schooling, suggesting that Albert Brooks "didn't think that girls should have that kind of education."[40] This, too, reveals the impact of emancipation; what had once been a measure of security and accomplishment to Lucy Goode Brooks—remaining at home with one's family—now felt like a restriction, rather than a privilege, to her daughter.[41] The possibilities seized by Brooks's children demonstrate that succeeding generations imagined new measures of freedom yet to be attained.

Lucy Brooks skillfully negotiated the legal and cultural disabilities imposed on her by slavery, gender, and race and succeeded in shaping her own life, as well as the lives of her children and those living in the city she called home. Her distinctive path to freedom is testament to the particularity with which each individual woman inhabits her historical context. Although gender restricted freedwomen's ability to claim the rights of citizenship, even at the height of Reconstruction's political possibilities, it did not prevent them from defining freedom expansively, both in their domestic and public lives. The legacy of Lucy Brooks's work, at home and in public, was a greater measure of freedom and security for the children she protected from the ravages of slavery and those she knew had suffered its blows. It suggests a woman who could steadily work within the constraints of her present reality even as she was pushing the bounds of the possible for a future yet to be realized.

NOTES

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8. See, e.g., Minutes of the Pastor, December 14, 1841, Minute Books, 1841–1930, First African Baptist Church, Richmond, Virginia, Microfilm Misc. Reel 494, Library of Virginia (LVA).

9. Sobel, *Trabelin' On*, 233; Scully, *Religion and the Making*, 66–75, 171–76; Takagi, "*Rearing Wolves*," 106.

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23. Brooks et al., *Brooks Chronicle*, 50–52, passim.

24. "'An Ordinance Concerning Negroes,' The Richmond Black Code (1859)," in Duke and Jordan, *Richmond Reader*, 107.

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34. Elizabeth Varon, *We Mean to Be Counted: White Women and Politics in Antebellum Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1998), 16, 60–62; Takagi, *Rearing Wolves*, 106; July 5, 1857, Minute Book, First African Baptist Church, LVA; Ebenezer Baptist Church, Richmond City, Records, 1858–1980, LVA, Misc. Reel, 33482. Few wartime or early Reconstruction records from First African Baptist Church survive. Although no direct reference to Brooks's sewing circle has been found in the contemporary records, references to meetings organized by women and donations made by individual churches to the project suggest that it would have been in line with known church practices.

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36. Richmond City Council Minutes, August 12, 1867; Meeting Minutes, Society of Friends, LVA.

37. *Charter and By-Laws of the Friends' Asylum for Colored Orphans, in the City of Richmond, Va.* (Richmond: R. L. Hewlett & Bro., 1883), 4.

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Caroline F. Putnam

Northern Interloper in Reconstructed Virginia

AMY FEELY MORSMAN

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Caroline F. Putnam was neither born nor raised in Virginia. She did not marry into one of the commonwealth's dynastic families or represent the state honorably as an artist or civic leader. In fact, for almost fifty years—from the day she arrived in Northumberland County in 1868 to the day she died there in 1917—Putnam was shunned by her Virginia neighbors, at least most of those who belonged to her race and class. To most white Virginians, she was the enemy: a radical, Republican, abolitionist Yankee intent on stirring up trouble among their former slaves. Putnam had grown up in Massachusetts and western New York, been educated at Oberlin College, and worked to spread the tenets of Garrisonian abolitionism throughout the antebellum North.[1] With this background, Caroline Putnam likely never considered herself a Virginian either, but her long labors there as a teacher of freedpeople after the Civil War dramatically influenced many lives in one Virginia community and help illustrate the opportunities and challenges that both black and white Virginians encountered during Reconstruction.

Putnam's move to Virginia was prompted by the emancipation of the South's millions of slaves, who were uneducated, uncertain of their future, and incredibly vulnerable in the postwar years. Her concern for them was certainly consistent with her antislavery activism before the war, but her decision to leave the familiar surroundings of the Northeast and relocate to what seemed a foreign, hostile land marked a significant departure in the life of this white, middle-class, middle-aged, unmarried woman. For years, she had lived and worked under the shadow of her good friend and life partner, Sallie Holley, whom she met at Oberlin in 1848 and followed into antislavery work. Holley was eight years

older, more assertive, and more connected to the important figures within the abolition movement.[2]

When she graduated from Oberlin, Holley sought to honor her father, Myron Holley, a founder of the Liberty Party, by traveling throughout the North as a paid antislavery lecturer. Though Caroline Putnam had not finished her studies at Oberlin, she chose to leave school in order to travel with Holley as her companion and assistant. Many northern women became involved in social reform movements during the antebellum period, but only a few were college educated and able to travel alone and speak publicly. Sallie Holley and Caroline Putnam, then, were members of a distinct minority within northern society and even within antislavery circles. Putnam, however, did not shine in this work. While Holley attracted large audiences with her talents as a speaker, Putnam managed the tedious details of their travel itineraries, reported on Holley's lecture events to the American Anti-Slavery Society, and, for several months, tried the disagreeable work of going door to door distributing antislavery tracts and proselytizing about abolitionism. She yearned to retreat from this chaotic, itinerant existence that characterized much of her life before and during the war.[3]

Putnam's decision to start a school in Virginia gave her the chance for a more settled, albeit not necessarily more peaceful life. It also represented an act of her own initiative, a course she charted for herself that was not driven by Sallie Holley. Putnam ventured into teaching relatively late. Many other northerners had rushed to the South to help educate the slaves during and immediately after the war, but then they returned home within a year after their funding or their energy ran out. Putnam arrived in the fall of 1868 and came to stay, outlasting almost all of the northern teachers who worked with freedpeople in the South. Moreover, the education that she provided multiple generations of African Americans was decidedly radical for the time. Putnam was not interested in simply easing their suffering or modestly improving their lives. Rather, she found creative ways year after year to remind these former slaves that they were the equals of the whites who tried to control them and that they could aspire to more than a life of servitude or manual labor. In Putnam's mind and in her teaching, freedpeople deserved true racial equality.[4]

Putnam opened her school in Lottsburg, Virginia, during an important transition period. Though the war had ended three years before, most Virginia communities were still reeling from the economic and political effects of defeat and emancipation. Union victory had settled some questions but left others unresolved. Slavery was no longer legal, but its formal abolition in 1865 and subsequent constitutional amendments regarding former slaves had not fully secured political and social rights for African Americans. Freedpeople explored the limits of their new identity, while many southern whites moved to staunch those efforts. Northerners watched this drama from afar, wrestling themselves

SALLIE HOLLEY AND CAROLINE F. PUTNAM

Photomechanical by unidentified photographers, no date.

From Portraits of American Abolititionists. Photograph number 81.333. Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

AN OLD SCHOLAR.

"There is a negro school at Meherrin Station, on the Richmond and Danville Railroad, where the teachers receive scholars of all ages and both sexes. Mr. ARVINE, of Lunenberg, had an old cook, 71 years of age, who took it into her head to learn to speak and write the English language correctly; so she entered the school, and bringing her ten cents per day and regularly paying it over to the teachers, she got along very well until, perhaps, at the end of the second week, she missed her lesson, and *was kept in in play time.* The idea! an old negro seventy-odd years of age kept in in play time."—*Danville (Va.) Times.*

"AN OLD SCHOLAR"

This cartoon appeared in *Harper's Weekly* on May 21, 1870. Reprinted from the *Danville Times*, the cartoon depicts the disapproval that most conservative white Virginians felt toward education for freedpeople and captures the negative political and racial climate within which Caroline Putnam operated her school.

with sensitive questions about race relations, national citizenship, and the future of the South. This period of uncertainty, when the bonds of the southern slave society had been loosened, was the best time for Caroline Putnam to attempt to achieve significant and lasting change.[5] This was the moment when social reform, even of her radical variety, might have some chance of taking root in southern soil.

Right after the war, Putnam's abolitionist enthusiasm shaped her sense of what was possible. In fact, her optimism about the future of race relations at times bordered on naïveté. For example, while visiting Boston in November 1866, Putnam had witnessed some heartening political developments. Boston voters had elected two African American men to the state legislature, one of whom was to represent the Beacon Street Ward, an area that Putnam described as "the old aristocratic quarter of the city!" Putnam eagerly shared this news with her friends, but she did so in an interesting way. She joyfully proclaimed that this election result was "a drop before the coming shower! Equal Rights forever."[6] It is not surprising that Putnam anticipated such improvements in race relations in liberal Boston in the afterglow of electoral victory. What is unusual is that her expectations about race reform did not change over time or space. She was still expecting that shower of equality to come two years later, when she established herself in Virginia. She brought such thoughts to Lottsburg, expressed them openly there, and incorporated them into her work among the freedpeople, which proved quite controversial. She faced steep challenges in running a school, navigating the needs of her pupils, and enduring the continued hostility of white Virginians, but through it all, Caroline Putnam's commitment to radical race reform did not fade or soften.

Neither did her sense of connection to the North. Though she would never live in the North again, the correspondence she maintained with northern friends and abolitionist leaders tethered her to that reform community for decades and was helpful in keeping at least some northerners invested in the plight of the freedpeople. Putnam's letters relay a great deal of information about what she saw in Virginia, how she related to the people she met there, and her vision for how conditions there should change. True to her personality, Putnam demurred when her correspondents praised the quality of her letters, and she never saw herself as a capable writer. Nevertheless, she hoped her words would inform and influence her readers. In fact, she sought out a wider audience in the northern press, having some of her letters published in reform newspapers so that a larger public could read her frequent reports on the state of affairs in Virginia and the concerns of the freedpeople. Here Putnam benefited from the confidence she had gained from prior experience reporting on Sallie Holley's antebellum antislavery lectures. When she wrote to publications such as the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* in the years after the war and after her move to Virginia, she expressed a greater forcefulness in her tone and a willingness to discuss the problems and the people who complicated her efforts.[7]

Instead of heading to a bustling urban area such as Charleston, Richmond, or Norfolk, where well-established black schools benefited from the support of freedmen's aid societies, Caroline Putnam chose to join a few other independent northern reformers off the beaten path in northeastern Virginia, in a quiet area between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers where fishing and farming predominated. Emily Howland, a northern woman who had been working in Washington, D.C., to resettle black refugees, was the first of the northern reformers to make Northumberland County her home base. Then Ephraim Nash, a northern civil servant, moved his family to a plantation in the area and became involved in local Republican politics in Heathsville. Howland and Nash were a great help to Putnam. They put her in touch with former slaves who were interested in organizing their own school five miles away, in the town of Lottsburg. These freedpeople needed an able teacher, and Caroline Putnam filled that need.[8]

A month after her arrival in November 1868, Putnam described the Northern Neck as the "remote fringe of the Old Dominion," but she was pleased to note its close proximity to the refreshing metropolitan offerings of Washington, D.C. Excursions to Washington or places farther north would, however, prove few and far between for Putnam. Still, she depended on the commercial traffic of Washington and Baltimore to keep mail and other goods flowing to her rural school. She also appreciated the gentle breezes off the Potomac and the beauty of the area, but she found the pace of the Lottsburg community maddeningly slow. "Everything here seems like a piece of old England," she wrote to Holley soon after her arrival, with "no schools or . . . any modern improvements." The place looked as it might have looked two hundred years before, "all as slow and lazy as could be . . . and 'lotus-eaters' are here to the manner born."[9]

Despite these frustrations, the condition of the freedpeople in Lottsburg gave Putnam a compelling reason to stay. She was moved not only by their poverty but also by their quiet desperation and their desire for advancement. During the war, when emancipation had become a northern war aim and then a foregone conclusion, Putnam and Holley had joined in the efforts to support the growing numbers of freedpeople. Like many other reformers, they had helped send northern aid and money to support African Americans living in crowded refugee camps.[10] Such wartime relief efforts seemed fleeting and unsubstantial once emancipation came and slaves faced a lifetime of freedom and all its responsibilities. The new condition of millions of African Americans demanded new responses with more powerful and lasting solutions. Putnam clearly recognized this need and constructed a school that would do far more than provide basic charity or barebones instruction for the local freedpeople. While in the process of giving them a proper education, she dispensed many articles of conventional charity from the boxes and barrels filled with goods sent by her well-meaning northern friends, but her concern was for the freedpeople's overall welfare, feeding their mind, body, and soul and setting them on a path

toward asserting their own social equality. Given the racial climate of Virginia, this effort would require Putnam to work on several fronts. From the beginning, she realized that she had to address not only the ignorance of the freedpeople but the poverty and discrimination they endured as well. Getting involved in their economic and political struggles was a distraction from teaching, but a necessary one that would contribute to the freedpeople's successful learning.

Putnam was happy to take on these multiple challenges, and she shared news about them often in her correspondence. She wasted no time in alerting northern readers to the troubles that her students and their families faced. For example, in December 1868 Putnam relayed to the *Standard* her own frustration and local African Americans' mounting anxiety about the coming new year, the time when black laborers and white landowners renegotiated annual labor contracts. On visiting the home of Henry Thompson, a black trustee of her school and the man on whom she depended to haul building materials to her unfinished schoolhouse, Putnam was amazed by the large size of his family. She noted the "rows and rows of children, big and little" cowering in the huge chimney, and she grew alarmed when she learned that they might all soon be turned out of their house and off the property that Thompson was renting from a local white planter because he had had the courage to vote for the Republicans in the November election. According to Putnam's story in the *Standard*, Thompson had stood by his right to express his own opinion at the polls and insisted that he had the same prerogative as a free citizen as his white landlord did.[11]

Not content to merely elicit sympathy from northern readers, Putnam intended to call them to action, to have distant citizens do their part to address the unfairness she was witnessing firsthand. In this particular instance, she had some help. Colonel Charles W. Folsom of Cambridge, Massachusetts, a former Union army officer and civil engineer, and also a friend and benefactor of Putnam's, had accompanied her to the Thompson home and was very concerned about the prospect of "all those humble children" losing their home—"for the sake of choosing Grant President!" "Think of that family of twelve children, liable to be turned out shelterless, [on] Christmas, because their father must vote as he thought best for their good!" Folsom remarked to Putnam. The situation so troubled Folsom that he believed others like him would be similarly moved. Thinking of his northern neighbors, Folsom supposed that they "would be converted," that they would "hear [Henry Thompson's] sensible talk and put themselves in his place." Before leaving Lottsburg, Folsom personally helped the Thompson family by advancing Henry Thompson the materials needed to become a shoemaker, an occupation Thompson had expressed an interest in pursuing and one that afforded him a more independent livelihood.[12]

Economic assistance of this sort was appreciated, and it helped overcome the biggest obstacle to freedpeople's success: their dependence on manipulative, vindictive whites for homes and jobs. Northumberland blacks were eager

to employ their experience in farming, fishing, and service industries to support themselves and their families. Unfortunately, they had few opportunities to live and work independently of whites. As defeated white Virginians emerged from the stupor of Confederate defeat, reengaged in state politics, and sought to regain local control from Republicans, they feared the potential power of black votes and used their leverage over black tenants even more. With the closing of the Freedmen's Bureau, that well-intentioned but flawed federal arbiter between southern whites and blacks, fewer safeguards existed to prevent the political harassment of landless freedpeople by their white employers.[13] The Thompsons were just one family among many associated with Putnam's school who faced possible eviction, job loss, or worse because of their political actions.

Putnam endeavored as best she could to make the rest of the nation aware of the unfolding political dramas and vulnerable circumstances of all "these loyal people." "Who is going to stand by them and help them bear it?" she asked northern readers. Using the memory of African Americans' wartime service and sacrifice, Putnam declared, "Now let Republicans see to it their devoted allies suffer no further persecution by this cruel deprivation of a free-hold. Let every officer and soldier who was gladdened by the sight of a black face, in *his* need during the struggle of war, now eagerly put forth his might to relieve his faithful friend and brother!"[14] Much to Putnam's dismay, no government-engineered land reform plan made it through Congress, and no brigades of northern investors organized to follow Charles Folsom's example of entrepreneurial philanthropy. Despite her best efforts with her pen, Putnam was ineffective at mobilizing the public and government leaders to bring about sweeping change. All she could do, then, was focus on the local level and on the ways she herself could address the race problems in Lottsburg.

The best way for Putnam to bring about reform there was to keep her school open and responsive to all the needs of the local freedpeople. For this to happen, she needed the help of others near and far. Unlike the vast majority of northern schoolteachers who traveled to the South to teach after emancipation, Putnam was not employed or sponsored by a large aid organization. Early on, the American Missionary Association and numerous regional freedmen's aid societies had established and staffed schools for blacks across the South. When their fund-raising efforts in the North began to fail just a few years after the war, these organizations sent fewer and fewer teachers. Some of the schools they sponsored closed or were consolidated. Others were incorporated into the new public school systems being established in southern states.[15] Putnam charted a more independent path as a teacher, depending on the use of her own funds, the contributions of local blacks, and the donations of northern friends.

Over the years, Putnam enjoyed the assistance and companionship of numerous teaching assistants, but these young northern women rarely stayed more than several months before returning home. She gained a more substan-

tial teaching partner when Sallie Holley moved to Lottsburg in 1870. Holley brought her passion for race reform, contributed her own considerable savings, and employed her persuasive talents to keep northern friends interested in giving to the school. She also got involved in local Republican politics, spent considerable time with students in the classroom, and influenced many facets of the work that went on there until her death in 1893. Putnam even named the school after Holley as a way of honoring her, but Holley, who escaped to the North or to Europe for months at a time every year, was never as present or as invested in the enterprise as Putnam was. This did not stop Holley from taking credit for the school's good work or criticizing Putnam's management of the school. Though Putnam and Holley lived and worked together on the school grounds for more than twenty years, tensions developed between them as they aged. To the end, though, Putnam was a faithful friend, always inclined to downplay her own achievements at the school and to praise Holley, whether she deserved it or not.[16]

Aside from Putnam and the other women who assisted as teachers, it was the freedpeople themselves who were most involved in shaping the education they gained at the Holley School. They provided the initial impetus for organizing a school and worked with Putnam to make the construction and operation of the schoolhouse a reality. After the first school building was completed in January 1869, Thornton Parker, a freedman and a school trustee, noted with a sense of wonder how his own community had made this school "out of *nothing*." He, his wife, and their ten children had been evicted by their former master in 1866 and left penniless until the next harvest. Parker had incurred debt in order to survive the postwar years, but he had also contributed seventy-nine dollars to the construction of the school building. "Though I can't write my name," Parker remarked, "my children can learn, and know what we did [here], that they might not grow up in the ignorance and darkness we all were kept in, in a state of bondage."[17] Obtaining an education was clearly very important to this sacrificing people.

Going to school was complicated by the fact that black Virginians, young and old, also had to labor for their food and shelter. Given the nature of their agricultural work, freedpeople had more time for school in the winter months but were needed in the fields during the crucial periods of planting and harvest. The children came to school when they could, often alternating days with their siblings. Those who went to school would teach the lessons they learned to their working brothers and sisters after sunset. "One boy has to stay out a day, or week, to help about the wood, and work at home while his brother comes," Putnam explained to a friend. "Next week will come his turn, and [his brother] will 'grind at the mill' of home duty." "Children very early, here, learn to bear the yoke of responsible labor," she lamented, "and are always carrying on an 'industrial education' and cannot, of course, make a very brilliant proficiency in

study at school." Instead of growing too discouraged about these circumstances, Putnam recognized the harsh reality of the freedpeople's lives and adapted her school to suit them. "The thread of connection in valuable instruction is not lost," she assured a supporter, despite the interruptions that bad weather and "other home hindrances" caused her students.[18] That was because Putnam kept the school open year round in order to catch as many opportunities for teaching as she could, and she offered evening classes for adults to attend as well as Sunday school.

In describing the work of the school to a northern benefactor in the 1870s, Sallie Holley wrote, "Most of our scholars are intermittents, for they have to work nearly all summer in these immense cornfields. But by keeping the doors of our school ever open, hundreds have learned to read and write." Looking back on the school's early days, she commented, "When we first came, [the freedpeople] did not know a letter of the alphabet, or the names of the days of the week; could not count on ten fingers or name the State they lived in."[19] Under Putnam's tutelage and with Holley's help, the freedpeople mastered the basics to which Holley referred—reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography.

They learned so much more as well, including history, music, poetry, botany, and astronomy. Putnam gave American history a special curricular focus in 1876, the nation's centennial year. She and the students enjoyed using the history textbook written by their northern friend and supporter Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson. To make science more accessible, Putnam regularly brought her microscope out under the trees during recess so that the children could examine "the speedwells, and chickweeds, and all the little sandworts, and greatly enjoy the sights." She established a Band of Mercy chapter at the school, sponsored by the newly founded Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, to highlight concerns about animal welfare. The school also observed the 1882 transit of Venus, viewing the little black dot "through a bit of stained glass." Putnam had prepared her scholars for this rare event by discussing with them Mary Swift's book *First Lessons on Natural Philosophy*.[20]

Like schoolchildren today, Putnam's students also learned about and celebrated holidays with each other in the classroom. The holidays observed at the Holley School were most unusual, however, especially for Virginians. Among them were John Brown Day on December 2, solemnizing the date on which the famous abolitionist was executed in Virginia; Fort Wagner Day on July 18, commemorating a Civil War battle fought by the black soldiers of the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Infantry; Emancipation Day on January 1, the day the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect; and Patriots' Day on April 19, for the Massachusetts Minutemen of Lexington and Concord. It is hard to imagine a *native*, white, Virginia woman planning such holidays or overlooking George Washington and Thomas Jefferson as figures to admire in school.[21] The celebrations were festive occasions, with students enjoying special foods and gifts and

adorning the portraits of their heroes with greenery. Such holidays also required substantial preparation by the students, who recited historic speeches and read poetic tributes to a large audience. These occasions challenged Putnam's students academically, infused positive energy into the local black community, and reminded the freedpeople that they deserved full freedom and equality.

Even Thanksgiving, a traditional holiday, had a different tone at the Holley School. In keeping with her priorities, Putnam chose not to focus on the pilgrims of 1620 but on those near and far who had made her students' lives as free people possible. An 1883 description of their Thanksgiving celebration shows what Putnam aimed to achieve. For the children, the highlight of the festivities was "a smoking hot molasses plum pudding, baked in the capacious schoolhouse oven—before their expectant eyes" and a whole host of games and fun activities. Before they all partook of the sweet treat, Putnam led her students in recounting "what we have to be thankful for." "I ask them 'where they *came from*'? 'where *they are*'?," which, according to Putnam, led her students to think about the meaning of "'*Home*' and '*School*.'" "And then I ask how there came to be a Home and a School for them—'if their fathers and mothers and grandfathers and grandmothers had homes and schools' and 'Thanksgiving days.'" "This brings up the idea of *Freedom* and *Country* and noble, kind *friends* who have *lived* and who have *died* to secure them these great blessings—'And for these we are thankful,'" Putnam concluded before serving the plum pudding.[22] It seems unlikely that other American children, on reviewing their blessings on Thanksgiving, would have had the same answers or derived the same meaning from this customary holiday exercise. Through the annual observance of special holidays at the Holley School, Putnam helped her students connect the past sacrifices of others to their own present circumstances.

Putnam also used the study of current events to tie her students' awareness of the present to their aims for the future. They read articles and opinion pieces from major metropolitan newspapers and periodicals such as the *New York Tribune* and the (Boston) *Commonwealth*, as well as from local papers. Through these materials, they learned about federal Reconstruction policy and the political redemption of the South, among other things.[23] Classroom discussion of political issues, both local and national, exposed the students to different perspectives on topics such as race relations, women's rights, and the challenges of democracy. Putnam's attention to the problems of the day helped prepare her students for the world they would face beyond the Holley School and most likely helped shape their future options and choices. According to one expert on the history of freedmen's education, Caroline Putnam provided a remarkably high standard of instruction for her students and placed the needs of the children and the community at the center of her teaching, creating a model rural progressive school.[24] While the larger impact of the school on the freedpeople of Lottsburg is difficult to measure, there is no doubt that Putnam's commitment and approach to this enterprise enriched their lives.

The cost of this education was borne by everyone involved. The local black community had contributed tremendously to start the school in 1868, and the students and their families worked to keep it going for many years after. Painfully aware of the poverty around her, Putnam volunteered her own time and charged only a modest school tuition that did not cover operational expenses. Even then, many students' families could not afford the tuition but paid what they could and labored for the school to make up the difference. Because the Holley School was a community hub, a place of work, and a residence for Putnam, Holley, and the other teachers, there were plenty of chores that needed to be done. In exchange for their education, students and their parents mended the buildings, painted walls, planted vegetables, and did the laundry, among other things.[25] Fulfilling these needs invested the freedpeople even more in the Holley School and gave them a greater sense of their individual abilities and accomplishments.

Louisa Nelson, mother of eight Holley School students, is a useful example of how black families worked to own their education. Putnam described her appreciation for this very able woman in March 1893 in a letter to Samuel May of Massachusetts. Nelson had just come to report to Putnam on the condition of the school gardens and announced with pride that "all was looking very flourishing." "She has been for years one of our most reliable garden women and knows every bush and bunch and border from end to end," Putnam explained to her correspondent. "With the odd hours' help she had given us [Mrs. Nelson] has been able largely to clothe her family and keep them more or less in school. She does my washing too and is a valuable woman." Though Putnam was clearly pleased with what Nelson could do for the school, she was also heartened by the effect the work had on her. "How wonderful this setting of the 'solitary in families' is!" Putnam remarked, making reference to a biblical passage where God "gives the desolate a home to live in" and "leads out the prisoners to prosperity." "We have seen the process going on for 25 years," she continued. "The wilderness where dragons lay—has become a highway, and sorrow and sighing have fled away, and songs of joy have been put in these hearts and mouths of the ransomed of the Lord." Like many other local freedpeople, Louisa Nelson and her children were, in Putnam's eyes, no longer prisoners to slavery or ignorance or apathy. They were valued members of a large, active school family.[26]

This Holley School family also benefited significantly from the generosity of people in the North. Both Putnam and Holley tapped into their network of antislavery friends and acquaintances in order to raise funds and other material support for the school. Like the freedpeople living close by, these distant benefactors established a lifeline for the school early on and then kept it going into the twentieth century. This long history of supporting the Holley School is remarkable, especially because support for freedmen's aid more generally dried up across the North within a decade of the war's end.[27] While some northerners sent money to the school, others contributed a whole host of things that might

be helpful for the school community. For example, Colonel Folsom sent sixty secondhand chairs and thirty double desks to the school in 1874, and he procured strawberry plants and raspberry canes for their gardens in 1893. Northern family units and neighborhood clubs also made the Holley School the focus of their annual charitable giving. Some sent barrels filled with useful goods at least once, if not several times a year. Louisa May Alcott's mother, Abigail Alcott, began that practice for her community in Concord, Massachusetts. In addition to being an abolitionist and women's rights supporter, Mrs. Alcott was a member of the Concord Union Bible Society, a women's sewing society that donated the proceeds of their handiwork to a variety of social causes. During the postwar period, when she learned about the school and its mission from Sallie Holley, Alcott asked the members of her Concord club to fill a barrel of donated clothing and housewares. When the barrel arrived in Lottsburg, the teachers and the students marveled at the contents and the generosity of these donors.[28]

Barrels of goods came from many other northern towns, too, and Putnam found these donated materials useful both in and outside the classroom. They enhanced her curriculum but also worked as presents to distribute to students on holidays and as goods to barter with local freedpeople. Pictures and maps sent from educated, middle-class homes covered the walls of the schoolhouse. Students cheerfully received stockings and mittens, knit by northern hands, as gifts on chilly Emancipation Day holidays. Clothing and bedding were a constant attraction for parents looking to clothe themselves and their young scholars warmly. In return, they gathered kindling in the woods for the schoolhouse fires, planted Putnam's potato patch, and brought eggs for her table.[29] Most of these donations helped meet the daily needs of the Holley School community, but some were so unusual that they were saved for special occasions. For example, Putnam hung a cherished portrait of the fallen Civil War hero Robert Gould Shaw, sent to the school by Shaw's mother, in a favored place for the students' celebration of Fort Wagner Day. And as part of the festivities for that holiday, the students who presented creative works or made speeches got to wear something near and dear to the real soldiers of the Fort Wagner battle. A woman in Boston who had witnessed the "Grand Reunion of Colored Veterans" at the city's Tremont Temple procured eight silk badges worn by the veterans of the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Infantry and sent them to Putnam.[30]

Needing to maintain good relationships with their northern sponsors, Putnam and Holley wrote them frequent and detailed letters that spelled out how their donations benefited the school. As a result, many northern reformers remained materially and emotionally invested in the enterprise. For example, when Abigail Alcott died in 1877, Louisa May Alcott encouraged her mother's friends to keep donations flowing to the Holley School. A few months later another barrel arrived from Concord. This shipment included a rather remarkable item, the autograph of Ralph Waldo Emerson, which his daughter Ellen, the

secretary of the Concord Union Bible Society, had enclosed with the hopes that Putnam could sell it for the benefit of the school. "The society has often heard your letters and feels a most affectionate interest in your work and in those individuals whose stories you have from time to time written," Ellen Emerson declared. She and the other society members were responding to Caroline Putnam's careful chronicling of the lives of her students and their parents. Emerson went on to explain that the northern clubwomen particularly appreciated hearing from the students themselves. "Their pretty little notes" were a "great surprise" and had done "just the right thing" for the donors. The Concord society continued to send supplies to the Holley School for at least another fifteen years, all the while expressing interest in and praise for the growth of the students. Putnam's words and those of her students were clearly effective in demonstrating not only how the goodwill of northerners was essential to improving many aspects of their lives in Virginia but also that the seeds of their charity were falling on fertile soil, among freedpeople who were eager to learn and apply the fruits of their own labor to their self-improvement.[31] For a reformer whose goal was racial equality, this was a step in the right direction.

In addition to running the school, caring for her students, and cultivating relationships with northern donors, Caroline Putnam had another important and official job. In 1869, through the lobbying efforts of her abolitionist friends, she received a government appointment as the postmistress for Lottsburg. This was the only federal job in rural areas and a relatively minor one, but it was one that Putnam could execute from the Holley School and in the midst of her other responsibilities. It also brought her a modest salary, which she used most often to pay teaching assistants who came to help her.[32] Most importantly, it put the Holley School on the local map, making it an essential stop for anyone who wanted to send or receive mail. This meant that white residents, who otherwise went out of their way to avoid Putnam and the other northern teachers, had to come to the school. Putnam hoped that seeing firsthand the good work of the school and the accomplishments of the students might alter local whites' opinions about the freedpeople and racial equality. "It will do these people good to get their letters and papers under the observation of Wendell Phillips, John Brown, Abraham Lincoln and Lucretia Mott, whose bust, medallions and pictures are about our schoolhouse walls," Putnam wrote to the *Standard* soon after her appointment.[33]

She enjoyed the work and the status of postmistress for thirty-four years, though whenever the political winds shifted in Washington, Putnam feared that she would lose the position. For instance, when Grover Cleveland, a Democrat, became president in 1885, Putnam launched a vigorous campaign to remain postmistress. She tapped numerous well-known northern friends, including Carl Schurz, Senator George Frisbie Hoar, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Josephine Shaw Lowell, and Frederick Douglass to lobby on her behalf. One letter she wrote to Frederick Douglass on this matter shows how Putnam viewed her

school and what it could offer to the Lottsburg community. For her, the school was "the best possible place to accommodate the widely scattered population of this town, besides being an educational influence of great value, attractively furnished as it is, with pictures, maps, [and] charts." Putnam wanted Douglass to emphasize to government officials that "our mission is one of benevolence to all the people, both white and colored, and active enlightenment." She reminded him of the volumes of educational materials she had made available to local white Sunday schools as well as the "papers, pictures, magazines, and books [available] to every family far and near which the post office gives us facilities for doing." Putnam valued having "access and acquaintance with the people," *all* the local people, regardless of their race, class, or disposition toward her. Her role as local postmistress provided that access to the white community in a way that her role as freedmen's teacher decidedly did not.[34]

Putnam hoped that that would not always be the case. She wanted the post office to function as a gateway for white Virginians to see into her world as a teacher and to understand her mission to the freedpeople. Her attempts at outreach, however, were complicated by her other priorities. Putnam never hesitated to confront local whites and even expose them in the national press for their poor treatment of African Americans, but she also wished that they would come to the Holley School and appreciate what was happening there, even the school's annual celebrations of controversial northern heroes. To win them over, she willingly shared donated goods with her white neighbors, and some of them happily and regularly partook of that generosity. Charles Fallin, one such neighbor, was paid for a delivery of wood with a donated suit from Leicester, Massachusetts. According to Putnam, Fallin changed into his new clothes on the side of the road on his way to Washington and later returned in his new suit to attend the school's Fort Wagner Day celebration.[35] Not many whites became as accepting of the school as Charles Fallin, but because it was their post office, local whites could not easily ignore the Holley School's existence or the impact that Putnam's work there had on their community.

As a believer in racial equality, Putnam would have been delighted to teach both the black and white citizens of Lottsburg. When she arrived to teach the freedpeople, few schools existed for whites in the Northern Neck. From the rumors she heard early on, her presence there and the desire of blacks to organize a school increased the interest of white residents in education. Some were intrigued by Putnam's success in bringing literacy to former slaves, and they wished that such an education existed for their own children. Their racial prejudice or the fear of judgment from other whites, however, kept most from making the Holley School their own. At one point the school had ten white pupils, but that did not last, especially after the state made it illegal to operate integrated schools when it established its new public school system in 1870. "These slaveholders," observed Sallie Holley, "in shutting out the light of knowledge

from the blacks, also shrouded themselves in the gloom of wretched ignorance." That was the case under slavery, and much to her and Putnam's dismay, it appeared that those circumstances would continue well beyond emancipation. The teachers found it so unfortunate that white Virginians on the local and state level would let racial fears keep them from benefitting from a school like theirs. This was a missed opportunity for the community, for not only would illiterate whites lose out on a valuable education, one likely better than the instruction they would receive in the new rural public schools, but they would also lose the chance to gain greater understanding of the black residents of Northumberland County and the northern whites who lived among them. As a result, the community remained divided along racial lines, a divide that grew sharper as the years passed.[36]

Though idealistic northern teachers such as Putnam and Holley may have been bewildered by white Virginians' preoccupation with race, some significant upheavals in the state's postwar politics help explain local whites' reason for worry. Politically the state fared quite well in the first few years after the war. By 1870 black and white men had voted to preserve the franchise for black men in the new state constitution while also restoring the voting rights of the vast majority of white men. Virginia had gained readmission to the Union and returned old-line white Democrats to prominence in state government. Compared to other former Confederate states, Virginia escaped the most punitive elements of federal Reconstruction policies, and it did so without losing the power of its politically experienced, white conservative base. The force of black male suffrage, however, ultimately proved alarming to those white Virginians hoping to maintain this political status quo. When white conservative defectors joined forces with black voters in the 1870s to create the Readjuster Party and seize the reins of state government for three years, it created substantial turmoil for the majority of white voters. A similar opportunity for biracial cooperation emerged briefly in the 1890s during the Populist movement, but it did not impact Virginia politics as much.[37]

The potential power of the black vote was evident during this period, and to Caroline Putnam, the conservative whites living near her seemed obsessed about it. During every election cycle, articles in the *Northern Neck News* whipped local whites into a frenzy over the prospect of "negro equality and negro miscegenation." Northern Republicans in Congress had intended for Reconstruction to rehabilitate the South and to right the worst wrongs within southern society before accepting the former Confederate states back in the Union. The fact that Virginia did not undergo a long, stringent reconstruction process under military occupation may have led northerners to assume that the problems there had been solved. Putnam and Holley grimly observed that that was not so. They both noted that white Virginians seemed as unreconstructed as other former Confederates further south. Whites, even in the relatively mod-

erate Northern Neck, appeared filled with fear and antipathy toward black advancement and the effect of the black vote on their lives. By 1889 Putnam had reached her limit of patience with this situation. When she learned that white Virginians found it scandalous that Frederick Douglass had attended President Benjamin Harrison's inaugural ball with his white wife, Putnam felt disgusted. After so many years, so little had changed within this white population. She wrote to a friend in Massachusetts, "I hope . . . that the coming administration is to give a good many bitter but wholesome pills for this still negro-hating South to swallow for its own good."[38]

Even more frustrating for Putnam was that though the region generally seemed to have made no real postwar progress, it was proclaiming itself to be different, to be a "New South." Henry Grady, editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, had been selling this idea for years and had established himself nationally as the spokesman for this regional revitalization movement. When he carried his message to Boston in 1889, Putnam read about it "with indignant distress." There, Grady referenced the economic revolution occurring in the South, as capital and industry developed to take advantage of the region's untapped resources. He also asserted a political vision that praised the honest ambition of southern whites, dismissed racial problems on the ground, and rejected the usefulness of government and its necessary protections for citizens. It was, according to Putnam, a "speech of sugared treason to the Constitution," and she shuddered to think of Grady delivering it in the heart of old abolitionist New England. His speech "should serve as a finger-post of warning," she wrote, "as it perfectly reflects[,] in its dire purpose to suppress the potential citizenship of colored voters, the spirit of the New Old South." Putnam beseeched her well-placed friends in the North to mobilize a public response to Grady's Boston speech.[39]

That firm northern rebuttal never came. The silence of her northern friends on this issue signaled that the rest of the country had already moved on, leaving Putnam and her racial crusade behind. Relations between whites and blacks only grew worse after that. In 1902 the Virginia state legislature followed the lead of other southern states by crafting a new state constitution that effectively disfranchised all black voters. Despite the lovely home and school she and Holley had made for themselves among the freedpeople of Lottsburg, Putnam reported feeling out of place and out of touch, even after living there for decades. In a letter to a friend in the 1890s, she somewhat humorously described her situation and that of other northern teachers on the Northern Neck as a "quaint, queer existence."[40] The work had its pleasures and its rewards, but Putnam never truly felt at ease, and her views and values never took root.

Putnam retired from full-time teaching in 1902 and from the post office in 1903, but she remained a fixture in Lottsburg and at the school, overseeing its operations, visiting the classes, and baking the annual Thanksgiving plum pudding. Her retirement years allowed more time for travel and reconnecting with

old friends, some of whom she had neglected out of deference to Holley. Holley's death in 1893 had left a void in her life but had also opened up new possibilities for Putnam's personal growth. In retirement she became active in the national movements for peace, women's suffrage, temperance, and animal cruelty reform. She continued to read widely, remaining ever concerned about the state of race relations. Putnam also spent her last few years searching for a replacement, someone to carry on the Holley School with her vision and spirit. All of her current and former teachers, however, declined to stay, discouraged by the long hours, the sacrifices, the frustrations, and the isolation of the job. When Putnam died at the age of ninety in January 1917, the Holley School closed its doors. Her ashes were buried in the black cemetery across the road from the school. Her teacher friends packed up Putnam's belongings and moved on. The unusual school she had begun decades before ceased to exist, though the schoolhouse continued to be used as a place for the education of local blacks. Leased to the white-run local school board, the building housed a black public school that suffered the same fate as other black schools in the age of Jim Crow: unequal and inadequate funding. Northumberland County's first racial lynching occurred the year that Putnam died; her friends noted the event with horror but felt relieved that the ever-hopeful reformer had not lived to see it.[41]

In the aftermath of the Civil War, Caroline Putnam had joined a stream of other northerners looking to effect change in Virginia and other southern states. Having begun by joining the freedmen's aid movement, she outlasted the movement itself and virtually all of the white reformers it had attracted to the cause of educating the freedpeople. With the help and hard work of her own students and their families, her northern friends, and her partner Sallie Holley, Putnam established and maintained a private, philanthropic institution that served generations of African Americans and the larger Lottsburg community for almost half a century. She was unapologetic about the northern bias in her teaching and her egalitarian inclinations. This radical reformer spent the better part of her life in Virginia, working against the state's established ways, seeking to remedy one of its greatest wrongs, and striving to remake at least one local community in the process. Always hoping, always fighting, she managed to keep alive some elements of the North's Reconstruction agenda long after Reconstruction had formally ended. Putnam was, however, ultimately disappointed in her quest for racial equality. In the late nineteenth century, neither Virginia nor the rest of the country were ready for her.

NOTES

1. Ronald Butchart, "Caroline F. Putnam," in Maxine Schwartz Seller, ed., *Women Educators in the United States, 1820–1993: A Bio-bibliographical Sourcebook* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1994), 389–91. Very little is known about Putnam's early life. Butchart notes that she was born somewhere in Massachusetts on July 19, 1826; that her father, a doctor, died when she was young; and that she

relocated to southwestern New York when her mother Eliza remarried in 1840. The records documenting Putnam's life really begin in her Oberlin years.

2. Eight years before Putnam's birth, Sallie Holley had been born into a large family in Canandaigua, New York. Her father, a lawyer by training, helped bring about the completion of the Erie Canal and created the Liberty Party, the first national party to bring the issue of antislavery to the fore. From there, Myron Holley became a lecturer for the American Anti-Slavery Society. As a girl, Sallie received a good education and flourished among her large, extended family in Buffalo and Rochester, New York. She taught school in New York for several years, entered Oberlin College in 1847, and then on graduation followed her father's path into antislavery work. John White Chadwick, ed., *A Life for Liberty: Anti-Slavery and Other Letters of Sallie Holley* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899), 18, 22, 25, 35–43, 45; I. B. Holley Jr., "Schooling Freedmen's Children," *New England Quarterly* 74 (September 2001): 478.

3. Butchart, "Caroline F. Putnam," 389–90.

4. Ibid., 391, 393.

5. For more on Virginia's postwar period, see Ronald Heinemann et al., *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth: A History of Virginia, 1607–2007* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 240–60.

6. Putnam to Miss Tyler, November 7, 1866, Emily Howland Papers, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

7. Butchart, "Caroline F. Putnam," 390; Katherine Lydigsen Herbig, "Friends for Freedom: The Lives and Careers of Sallie Holley and Caroline Putnam" (PhD diss., Claremont Graduate School, 1977), 267–71; see *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, January 23, 1869, 3; January 2**,** 1869, 3.

8. Herbig, "Friends for Freedom," 243–47.

9. Putnam to "Dearest Friend" [Sallie Holley], November 12, 1868, Howland Papers.

10. Putnam to Mr. May, May 11, 1894, Samuel May Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society (hereafter May Papers); Butchart, "Caroline F. Putnam," 389.

11. "From Virginia: Extract of a Letter from Miss Caroline F. Putnam," *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, January 2, 1869, 3.

12. Ibid.

13. Heinemann et al., *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth*, 242–50.

14. "Affairs in Virginia: Letter from Miss Caroline F. Putnam," *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, February 20, 1869, 3.

15. Herbig, "Friends for Freedom," 258–59.

16. Butchart, "Caroline F. Putnam," 394. Caroline Putnam wrote a revealing letter to Samuel May on this issue on January 27, 1893, May Papers.

17. "Letter from Miss Caroline F. Putnam," *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, January 23, 1869, 3.

18. Putnam to Mr. and Mrs. May, December 11, 1889, and Putnam to Samuel May, March 12, 1893, May Papers.

19. Letter from Sallie Holley, August 3, 1875, excerpted in Chadwick, *Life for Liberty*, 212–13.

20. Putnam to Samuel May, April 7, 1891, and Putnam to Mr. May, March 11, 1883, May Papers. The author Mary Swift was the principal of the Litchfield Female Seminary.

21. Putnam to Mr. May, December 11, 1889. In fact, on Washington's birthday, Putnam chose to celebrate another abolition hero, Wendell Phillips, in place of the slaveholding first president.

22. Putnam to Mr. May, March 11, 1883, May Papers.

23. For example, see an undated letter Putnam wrote to Mr. May in the May Papers. This letter appears early in the set and reflects events from 1883.

24. Butchart, "Caroline F. Putnam," 393.

25. Letter from Sallie Holley, August 3, 1875, excerpted in Chadwick, *Life for Liberty*, 212–13; Herbig, "Friends for Freedom," 318–20.

26. Caroline Putnam to Mr. May, March 15, 1893, and April 7, 1891, May Papers. The biblical reference is to Psalms 68:6.

27. For the decline of freedmen's aid societies, see Ronald Butchart, *Schooling the Freed People: Teaching, Learning, and the Struggle for Black Freedom, 1861–1876* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 86–88, 95–96, 171–72.

28. Putnam to Mr. May, March 15, 1893, and April 25, 1894, May Papers; Ellen T. Emerson to Sallie Holley, February 8, 1878, and Ellen T. Emerson to Sallie Holley and Caroline Putnam, April 5, 1879, published in I. B. Holley Jr., "Schooling Freedmen's Children," 483–85.

29. Putnam made frequent references to the trades she made with local freedpeople. For example, see Putnam to Samuel May, November 1874–Spring 1875 (this is a letter she held onto during the winter, so this is how she dated it), May Papers. For later examples, see Putnam's undated (but probably January 1894) letter to Samuel May as well as the April 6, 1894, letter, May Papers.

30. Putnam to Samuel May, July 21, 1893, May Papers.

31. Ellen T. Emerson to Sallie Holley, February 8, 1878, and Ellen T. Emerson to Sallie Holley and Caroline Putnam, April 5, 1879, published in I. B. Holley Jr., "Schooling Freedmen's Children," 483–85. For an example of a student's letter to donors, see Susie Blackwell to Mrs. Bradbury, March 20, 1888, May Papers.

32. According to Herbig, Putnam's salary was based on the volume of mail she handled. See Herbig, "Friends for Freedom," 275. In a December 1884 letter, Putnam mentioned earning ten dollars a month from the post office. See Putnam to Mr. May, December 18, 1884, May Papers.

33. Putnam to Aaron Powell, September 29, 1869, in *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, October 9, 1869, as quoted in Herbig, "Friends for Freedom," 276; Butchart, "Caroline F. Putnam," 392.

34. Putnam to Mr. May, February 8, 1885, and March 12, 1893, May Papers. Putnam tapped some of these people in 1885 and others in 1893.

35. Butchart, "Caroline F. Putnam," 394; Putnam to Mr. May, August 15, 1894, May Papers.

36. Herbig, "Friends for Freedom," 358; Heinemann et al., *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth*, 254; Sallie Holley to Mrs. Miller, December 30, 1878, in Chadwick, *Life for Liberty*, 229; letter from Sallie Holley, August 3, 1875, in Chadwick, *Life for Liberty*, 213.

37. Heinemann et al., *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth*, 256–60, 274–75; see also Jane Dailey, *Before Jim Crow: The Politics of Race in Postemancipation Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

38. *Northern Neck News*, March 31, 1882, October 2 and 26, 1883; Sallie Holley to The Porters, October 13, 1874, in Chadwick, *Life for Liberty*, 223; Putnam to Mr. May, March 17, 1889, May Papers.

39. Henry W. Grady, "Plymouth Rock and Democracy" and "The Race Problem in the South," in Edwin Shurter, ed., *The Complete Orations and Speeches of Henry Grady* (Hinds, Noble & Eldredge, 1910), 192–233; Putnam to Mr. May, April 2, 1889, May Papers.

40. Heinemann et al., *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth*, 277; Putnam to May Family, November 30, 1893, May Papers.

41. Herbig, "Friends for Freedom," 372–75, 380–82; "A Noble Woman Laid to Rest; Funeral of Miss Sallie Holley, The Friend of the Slave," *New York Times*, January 17, 1893; Butchart, "Caroline F. Putnam," 395; "Death of Caroline F. Putnam," *New York Evening Post*, January 27, 1917.

Wage-Earning Women

Work and Community in Virginia's Cotton Textile Industry

BETH ENGLISH

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"The war struck a blow which paralyzed her energy and crushed her ambition. That has all passed," the *Manufacturer's Record* said of the South in 1888. "The erection of cotton mills is giving employment to hundreds of white women, who never heretofore had an opportunity to earn anything, or to contribute to the wealth of the community. To work is no longer a disgrace, and as the Southern women are possessed of a highly nervous quality of energy, they become very active and intelligent operatives." In the decades following the Civil War, southern industrial boosters explicitly linked the economic success of the region to the fortunes of a growing cotton textile industry and, implicitly, to the women who constituted a majority of the industry's workforce through the early twentieth century. Virginia's postwar textile industry was built on small antebellum cotton manufacturing mills and the employment patterns established therein for white wage-earning women. Through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, commonalities of gender, work, and community facilitated the creation of a distinct shared experience for the women who worked in Virginia's cotton textile industry and linked them to a larger community of female textile workers across the South.[1]

Though the most robust growth of cotton textile mills in the South occurred in the decades following the Civil War, the cotton textile industry had established its foothold in Virginia and other states in the region during the antebellum era, with women employed in cotton manufacturing from the beginning. With the notable exceptions of William Gregg's Graniteville mill in South Carolina's Horse Creek Valley and the operations of Edwin Holt in Alamance, North Carolina, southern antebellum mills were usually small, water-powered operations producing coarse cotton goods for local markets. The development

of the cotton manufacturing industry in the region was intimately tied to the cotton market, and its fortunes ebbed and flowed with the rise and fall of cotton prices. When cotton prices were high, purchasing slaves to work the land made more financial sense and reaped higher profits than underwriting the construction of factories. The 1837 financial panic and precipitous decline in cotton prices in the 1840s, however, revived discussions begun during years of low cotton prices in the 1820s and early 1830s about fuller development and diversification of the region's economy, dependence on northern manufactures, and the limitations of cotton monoculture.[2]

Virginia emerged as a leading textile-producing state in the South by the 1830s with its center of cotton goods manufacturing located in Petersburg and Chesterfield County in the central part of the state. Petersburg's first cotton mill opened in 1827, followed by the incorporation of the Spring Bank Company (1834) near Manchester, the Matoaca Manufacturing Company (1835) and Ettrick Manufacturing Company (1836) along the Appomattox River near Petersburg, and the Mechanics Manufacturing Company (1836) and Union Manufacturing Company (1837) at Swift Creek. In 1840 Virginia claimed twenty-two cotton factories containing more than 42,000 spindles where upwards of 1,800 mill hands, both men and women, manufactured cotton goods valued at nearly $450,000, including factory-spun yarn that was "put out" to local homes for weaving.[3] In 1850 the Chesterfield County mills had a female workforce of more than seven hundred and boasted production of "osanburgs [*sic*] and cotton bagging for sugar and coffee sacks for Brazil, whose products were being received at Petersburg, Bermuda Hundred and Richmond on ships which went back laden with coal, grains and Chesterfield made flour."[4]

On the eve of the Civil War, neither Virginia's cotton industry nor that of any southern state equaled the size and scope of mills in New England or the Mid-Atlantic. Southern mills remained, with few exceptions, small, homegrown affairs throughout the antebellum period. Yarns or coarse unfinished cloths sold to local markets were the mainstays of these mills. During the 1830s the typical southern mill had fewer than 1,500 spindles in operation. By 1860 there were 159 southern cotton mills in operation, containing 290,000 spindles and employing nearly four thousand men and six thousand women. But southern-made cotton textiles counted for only 4.6 percent of all cotton cloth produced in the country. Georgia was the largest producer in the region, weaving nearly 18 million yards of cloth annually in its thirty-three mills, while Virginia's sixteen mills employed some 1,400 and had an annual output of more than 11 million yards of cloth annually. With five mills and 855 employees in 1860, the hub of Virginia's antebellum cotton production was in Chesterfield County, with the Battersea, Ettrick, and Matoaca mills near Petersburg producing cloth for the Confederate and state governments through the war years.[5] While a far cry from the rapidly maturing New England textile industry, where workers produced cotton goods

TEXTILE MILL WORKERS

Standing outside the carding department at the Matoaca Manufacturing Company, June 1911.

Photograph by Lewis Hine. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Reproduction Number: LC-DIG-nclc-02184.

WEAVING ROOM WORKERS

Matoaca mill workers pose in the weaving room on the ground floor of Building number 4, December 1905.

Courtesy Petersburg Public Library.

for regional, national, and international markets in factories boasting hundreds of thousands of spindles, these antebellum southern mills were important precursors of the postbellum industry that would succeed them.

The dynamics of Virginia's post–Civil War cotton textile industry, including the employment of women in large numbers, paralleled those of other southern states. The South saw the expansion of manufacturing as a way to rebuild and diversify the region's shattered economy, and it was eager to produce the finished goods that an increasingly urban-industrial nation demanded. Even in Virginia, arguably the most advanced industrial state in the South on the eve of the Civil War, industrial boosters championed cotton manufacturing as a logical first step in this process. "In due time," one such booster asserted in 1871, "Virginia will take a foremost rank as a manufacturer of textile fabrics. . . . Such a position is not gained without labor and sacrifice; but when once reached, it will make that an *empire* which is now a *dependency*."[6] Why send southern cotton to the mills of New England, the boosters asked, when locally funded mills, powered by Piedmont rivers and coal, could process the region's most abundant crop into woven goods for sale in markets long dominated by producers in the Northeast? "With the vast water power which we have here in Richmond, with cotton enough brought to our own doors to supply millions of spindles daily, the year in and year out, who will be the first to embark on an enterprise which offers profit of from seventeen to twenty per cent in advance of transporting the raw material North?" queried an 1872 editorial in Richmond's *Evening State Journal*. "Nature is profuse in her blessings on every hand, and Providence has been surpassingly bountiful; and it remains only for man wisely to possess and improve these rich privileges."[7] The growth of Virginia's cotton textile industry was part of a broad increase in industrial development that began in the 1840s and 1850s and accelerated at the turn of the twentieth century. Wage earners in manufacturing establishments in the state increased nearly 150 percent between 1850 and 1900.[8]

By the 1870s industrial boosters and entrepreneurs throughout the region had fashioned a "cotton mill campaign" that positioned the textile industry as the savior of the New South. Labor, especially female labor, was a key element in the campaign's rhetoric. "There are thousands of noble young men and women in the State full of grand capacity, now dormant and wasting," the Richmond press declared. "The old Commonwealth is sounding the drum-beat to duty. Let them . . . march bravely to the work of this new day. So shall they make the future of Virginia worthy of the past and themselves worthy of a great ancestry!" Industrial boosters further argued that labor in the South was another of the region's "rich privileges," because "as a class" it was "native born, proverbially religious, having an inborn inclination to be loyal to their employer, honest and capable, and in all these respects equal or superior to any body of working people in this industry that can be found."[9]

Pronouncements such as these wove workers intimately into the fabric of the region's cotton mill campaign, but important dynamics shaping the region's cotton textile labor force were rooted in antebellum labor recruitment patterns. This was especially true of the gendered nature of the textile workforce. From the start, white women held the majority of production jobs in southern textile mills, fueled by the changing nature of the yeoman household economy that began during the antebellum period and accelerated in the decades following the war. Much like their northern counterparts during the first three decades of the nineteenth century who sought work in New England mill towns such as Lowell, women in these southern households saw industrial work and the wages earned in the textile mills as a key to household economic stability. In the South the concentration of landownership and associated rising land prices that began in the 1840s contributed to landlessness and a glut of surplus labor among a group that came to be known as "poor whites." The factory wages earned by wives and daughters of small-scale landowners helped insulate family farms from debt and loss of landownership, while mill work drew in entire families when the land could no longer provide.[10]

The transition from farm to factory that began for some in the antebellum period became a reality throughout the region by the turn of the twentieth century for thousands of families among the classes of small landowners, tenants, and those whites who had owned little or no land on the eve of the Civil War. Shaped by wartime dislocations, emancipation, economic pressures on the land, and declining cash-crop prices caused by small-scale farmers turning in ever larger numbers to the production of cotton and tobacco, postwar agricultural transformations fueled the growth of the pool of surplus rural labor. While pressures on the land pushed surplus labor—commonly that of women and children—off farms, the rapidly growing numbers of textile mills pulled it in. By 1900 the southern textile industry, bolstered by this glut in the labor supply, had expanded over a wide crescent from central Virginia through the Carolina Piedmont and across northern Georgia and Alabama. Nearly three thousand operatives worked in Virginia's textile mills at the turn of the century, more than double the number in 1860, as part of a southern textile workforce of more than a hundred thousand.[11]

This workforce of the textile South was not only largely female but also overwhelmingly white. In the antebellum period, mills throughout the region operated with a mix of white and black labor, slave and free. But buying or renting slave labor, especially during periods of high cotton prices, proved uneconomical for many mill owners who instead tapped into the cheap and ready labor force among poor whites seeking seasonal or permanent wage work. In the comparatively industrialized state of Virginia, especially in the vicinity of Richmond and Petersburg, race largely defined where industrial wage-earning women worked, with white women employed in the cotton factories and black women,

slave and free, employed in tobacco manufacturing. Southern cotton mill managers commonly relegated black labor, if employed at all, to "yard work" such as loading and unloading freight and breaking cotton bales in preparation for manufacture, or to cleaning and custodial duties. As the cotton manufacturing industry took root through the 1830s and 1840s, mill owners and supporters of regional industrialization contoured their arguments in favor of developing domestic textile manufacturing capabilities within a slave-based, planter-dominated economy to fit the imperfect segregation of factory labor already largely in place within the textile industry. Beyond questions of labor supply and cost, maintaining a segregated system of industrial labor was a strategy utilized by factory owners, planters, and other upper-class supporters of industrial development to thwart potential challenges to the system of slavery from "the thousands of poor, ignorant, degraded white people among us who, in this land of plenty, live in comparative nakedness and starvation." The cotton manufactories, this line of argument went, were not only sources of employment for these poor whites but would impart to them "civilizing" influences as well.[12]

This antebellum pattern of employing white labor in southern textile mills became more rigid in the postbellum years and took on added relevance for mill owners and mill hands in the free-labor milieu. Mill owners tapped into white workers' anxieties about an economic leveling between poor whites and blacks with the abolition of slavery, touting mill work as a way to escape potentially degrading competition with free blacks and emphasizing commonalities of race between themselves and their operatives. "Shut out in so many directions the whites, who now find life a bitter struggle, will gladly turn to the spindle and loom," a Charlotte, North Carolina, paper opined in 1881. "Manufacturing will be their deliverance."[13]

The typical worker in Virginia textile mills during the late nineteenth century, then, was a young, white, single woman living within a household whose members supported the family economy through a combination of work in the mill, other types of waged employment, and some sort of small-scale farming. Among these women was Anthelia Holt, a weaver at the Matoaca Manufacturing Company, who left a cache of letters written between 1888 and 1895 to her friend Lottie Clark living about fifteen miles away in rural Amelia County. These letters provide remarkable insight into the daily life of a female textile worker in the post–Civil War South. Anthelia was twenty-seven years old in 1888, and she worked at the Matoaca mill until she was forty, when she married Marshall Robinett, a widower and father of four, and moved to Norfolk.[14]

By the first decades of the twentieth century, as was the case for Danville mill worker Della Connor, it was increasingly common for female textile workers to begin their employment in girlhood or adolescence within a larger "mill family" wherein most, if not all, family members worked in the mill and whose children came of age, worked, and lived all or a majority of their lives in the mill

and company-owned mill village. Della began working as a spinner at age sixteen, having attended only four terms of formal schooling. To support a family of three girls and six boys, her father gave up on farming and "moved the whole kit and kaboodle . . . over to Mayodan [North Carolina]." It was in the shadow of North Carolina and, later, Virginia textile mills that she eventually met and married her husband, Roy, and had two daughters of her own. She "would go on spinning till she was sixty and had to quit."[15] Though their introduction to the mills may have differed over the decades, the conditions of work experienced by Virginia's mill women remained remarkably static—characterized by long hours, low wages, limited occupational mobility, and economic insecurity—as did the processes of developing strong ties to and participation in a distinct mill culture and community.

The town of Matoaca in Chesterfield County and the Matoaca Manufacturing Company where Anthelia Holt lived and worked is illustrative of a textile community in post–Civil War Virginia. Matoaca in 1880 was a town of 590 people living in 118 households, with the typical household consisting of five individuals. By 1900 the population of Matoaca had grown to 1,500 individuals living in 300 households, with household size remaining relatively constant. In 1880 nearly one-fourth of the town's women and one-tenth of its men worked full time at the cotton mill. When narrowing this group of Matoaca residents to include only women working outside the home for wages, the Matoaca mill employed more than 90 percent of the town's wage-earning women in 1880 and 85 percent in 1900. Within the cotton mill workforce, all of the production workers were white, with young, single women in the clear majority. Nearly 73 percent of all female workers at the Matoaca mill in 1880, whose average age was just under nineteen, were single, and the overwhelming majority of these women lived with immediate family members.[16]

Waged work was a vital element of household economies in Matoaca where all of the single women employed in the cotton mill had at least one parent or sibling employed outside of the home. And, as was common among southern textile workers into the turn of the twentieth century, many households supplemented waged work with the agricultural output of a small plot of land within the mill village. A typical household in this regard was that of Alpheus Jenkins Holt, Anthelia's father. In 1880 Alpheus worked at the Matoaca Manufacturing Company and grew corn and raised pigs on the land around the family's home in "the village." Anthelia and her brother William both worked at the mill while their mother, Mary Ann, kept house and cared for the family's three youngest children. The Holt household no longer farmed after the 1898 death of Alpheus, but Mary Ann was still at home, with four of her six living children supporting the household with waged work. Anthelia and her sister Allie worked as weavers at the mill, and brothers Thomas and James worked as a farm laborer and cotton packer, respectively.[17]

The work done at the Matoaca mill and in cotton textile mills throughout Virginia and the wider Piedmont South was characterized by long hours, oppressive working conditions, and low wages. "Ventilation is apt to be poor. . . . The temperature of the mills was often high, and in certain rooms the humidity was excessive," a 1910 survey of cotton mills found. "Dust and lint abounded. . . . In most of the mills visited there was an objectionable and wholly unnecessary amount of both in the atmosphere."[18] For ten- to twelve-hour days, mill workers tended carding machines, spindles, and looms in these hot, humid, lint-filled rooms, atop vibrating floors and amidst deafening machine-made noise. "We have to work untill after seven oclock every night and untill four o clock every Saturday so you may know that I am in the penitentiary now," Anthelia Holt wrote to her friend Lottie Clark of her work week in late September 1889. "I was running six looms all last week and I was so tired at night," she reported in November 1891. "This leaves all the family well except myself I am at work but hardly able to keep up I think every day I will stop and rest but I hate to stop if I can work."[19] For Della Connor, the looms she tended at a Danville mill in the first decades of the twentieth century "meant deadly concentration and high speed. . . . She was proud of what she could do, but oh, Lord, sometimes the stifling hot air crushed down on her and sweat poured from her whole body. . . . She was glad she had held up and never dropped to the floor yet." At the time of her first foray into the mill as a spinner, Della remembered working ten-hour days. "Lord, how long them days was an' nights was longer yet. I ached all over. If you got behind in your work, you didn't have time to stop and eat a bite. You just had to keep on."[20]

Yet work at the mill could also be irregular and unpredictable, creating a degree of constant economic insecurity for mill workers. Mills often had seasonal speedups, as well as complete stoppages periodically when demand was slack or when water levels for river-fueled mills ran low. While short-term stoppages due to water supply or needed repairs to the mills offered workers a respite from work, an opportunity to visit nearby friends and family, and time for recreation, the lost wages that accompanied them made these stoppages a double-edged sword. During the nationwide economic depression in 1893, work for Anthelia Holt at the Matoaca mill was sporadic at best. In late September she wrote to Lottie Clark, "We are still working half time," but she added, "I do wish we could work full time." By December she lamented, "We have not done any work in two weeks." But two weeks later, when the mill started up full time, she had mixed feelings. "We are at work now and they say we will work full time now," she wrote to Lottie. "I know I need the work but I wish they had waited untill new years day before they started up."[21]

Such sporadic stoppages continued to affect mill workers in the Petersburg area into the early twentieth century. During the summer of 1904, for example,

a shutdown hit the workers at the Matoaca mill, which then "suspended operations indefinitely" in August. The Pocahontas mill across the river also closed shortly after, leaving the Swift Creek mill, which had shut down earlier in the summer for repairs to its dam "during the dry season," as the only area mill fully operating. The Matoaca and Pocahontas mills, employing hundreds of operatives whose wages supported hundreds more in households throughout the area, did not resume production until October.[22] Though some of Matoaca's furloughed mill workers found temporary employment during longer-term shutdowns in other industries in Petersburg or Richmond, a 1911 survey of the textile industry concluded, "It is plain that low wages are the chief factor in determining the prevailing standards of living. Even in those cases where the incomes are fairly high the fact that they fluctuate from week to week is not conducive to the adoption of a standard as high as might be indicated by the total income."[23]

Wage cuts, too, were frequent and usually without notice, sometimes prompting collective action among the workforce and short-term walkouts by employees. In 1897, in response to a general depression in the industry that year, management of the Matoaca and Ettrick mills "notified their operatives that . . . a reduction of 10 per cent will be made in their wages," the *Roanoke Times* reported in June. "The operatives of the Matoaca mill held a meeting . . . and resolved not to work for the Company if the proposed reduction was made." The Matoaca mill workers "refused to accede to the reduction, and therefore the mills had to shut down," the paper reported the day after the scheduled wage cut went into effect. But because "the same reduction of 10 per cent was made . . . in the wages of the operatives at the Ettrick, Pocahontas and Blue Ridge cotton mills, which the hands accepted," the Matoaca walkout was short lived.[24]

While all mill workers experienced low wages, unpredictable employment, and poor working conditions, women faced additional obstacles. Gender played an important role in shaping work in the mill, both in the types of jobs performed and in wages paid. The sexual division of labor in the mills reflected and reinforced the societal notions of natural gendered physical traits that dovetailed with the introduction of new machinery in the 1870s and 1880s to improve efficiency and "to increase the feasibility of employing women and children." It was a commonly held belief among mill owners and managers that women were "especially adapted" to operate the new machinery because of their nimbleness, dexterity, deftness, and small fingers.[25] The introduction of ring spinning machines in the 1870s automated much of the work formerly done in the industry by skilled craftsmen. The Northrop automatic loom that came into use in the 1880s likewise made the weaving process more efficient by mechanizing much of the work of supplying yarn bobbins to the machine. This new process increased the number of looms one weaver could capably tend and decreased the amount of wages paid per loom. The majority of women employed

in Virginia's textile mills were semiskilled weavers at best "because they could be secured for this at wages which would not attract men," and they typically worked in unskilled jobs such as ring spinners and spoolers.[26]

Such gender assumptions and the family labor system that prevailed in the textile South also meant unequal pay for men and women, even for production jobs employing both. Increasingly through the turn of the twentieth century, wages in southern mills were rooted in a family labor system where the family unit, and the presumed hierarchy of gender and age within these family units, determined pay rates for individuals. This labor system put female mill workers in the strange position of being "at once breadwinners and dependents" within the household.[27] Cultural prescriptions that defined men as breadwinners, women and children as dependents, and women as temporary participants in the industrial workforce meant that even in textile mill departments, like the weave room, where men and women often performed equal work, women earned less than their male counterparts. Virginia mills at the turn of the century paid on average daily wages of $1.26 for male and 76.4 cents for female weavers, 87.4 cents for men and 66.2 cents for women employed in the carding room, and 62.4 cents for men and 49.2 cents for women working in the spinning room.[28] However, the ability of women to move beyond the ranks of the unskilled or semiskilled was severely circumscribed by labor practices that prevented women's access to the ranks of skilled workers such as machine fixers or clerks, or to shop-floor supervisory or general management positions. Though the wage gap slowly shrank for some occupations, as a 1910 survey of women in the cotton textile industry bluntly stated, "Within each workroom there are no promotions so far as female employees are concerned."[29]

The lives of female textile mill workers in Virginia as well as in the wider textile South, however, were shaped in important ways not only by mill work but by the mill villages in which they lived. The mill villages themselves were often the product of necessity, built adjacent to textile mills—sometimes haphazardly, sometimes planned to the smallest detail—to house and provide basic services for the mill workforce. Mill owners since the antebellum period had touted the beneficial and civilizing influences of such villages on the poor farmers and "mountain folk" who came to the villages in search of work, and they positioned the mill village as a palliative for class strife, the social degradation many feared would accompany industrialization, and the racial equalizing that many white southerners worried would be the product of emancipation.

In many cases, though, the mill village was an important tool of control for mill managers. Here, mill employees and their families lived in frame houses, usually four or five rooms in size, which they rented from the mill company. They attended churches and schools staffed by ministers and teachers paid by the mill company, and they purchased food and household supplies from mer-

chants for whom a job at the mill was requisite for credit. The village, too, cultivated a workforce, with sons and daughters following fathers, mothers, and older siblings into the mills to contribute to the family economy from a young age and adding to the vast pool of child labor in the southern textile industry. "Wa'n't near big enough to reach up to the frame, and they had a box for me to stand on to make it and I pushed the box right along as I worked," recalled Mary Abbott about her childhood employment at age seven at a Danville mill. "I took on right quick and before long I could spin right up with some of the big ones. The boss told Pa I was pert, and when folks come visitin' at the mill he'd bring them to see the youngun that could spin good." Not supplying enough workers to the mill or participating in a union or other activities that mill management considered a threat to company interests meant the loss not only of one's livelihood but home and access to credit as well.[30]

The mill villages, however, were not purely creations of mill management. Mill families formed communities within these company-controlled villages based on commonalities of work, race, background, and economic condition. The pervasive poverty found throughout mill villages in the region and being defined as "mill hands," "factory people," and "lint heads" by others further contributed to mill worker identity and community. This identity as mill folk coupled with the realities of the workplace and demands on their time and labor at home further cultivated gendered bonds of friendships and networks of mutuality among women living and working in mill villages throughout Virginia and the wider textile South. Women created a unique female mill village culture that was connected to but also set apart and distinct from the men in the community.

Networks of female friends, coworkers, and kin were a gender-exclusive means of support for female mill workers who created and utilized collective strategies to cope with and act as a buffer against the day-to-day restrictions imposed by factory work. Watching one another's machines in the mill to allow for a brief respite during the workday or stepping into a job completely for a coworker who was ill was common. "I am writing this in the mill," Anthelia Holt scribbled to Lottie Clark while taking a short break of this kind at the Matoaca mill in April 1894. She had to end the letter abruptly: "my looms run so mean I think I had better close for you will never be able to read what I have written." Outside the mill, caring for the sick and participating in work sharing helped ease the burdens of the double day of work at the mill and at home cooking, cleaning, and minding children and siblings. "Please excuse me for not answering your letter before now," Anthelia wrote to Lottie in October 1892. "I would have done so but have not had the chance. . . . There is so much sickness around here that it takes nearly all of my time." Necessity shaped many of the reciprocal networks of mutual aid and support that proved to be sources of individual and

family stability. From birth to finding work at the mill to courtship, marriage, and even death, these relationships played a role in all the major transitions in a female cotton mill worker's life.[31]

The contestation between economic dependence and independence, economic security and insecurity also profoundly shaped the day-to-day lives of women across the textile South. Anthelia Holt reflected a spectrum of economic realities among her circle of friends in an 1895 letter to Lottie Clark. After relaying a story of how a friend's wedding did not come off because neither she nor her groom had enough money, she told of another friend whose husband recently died. "He left Addie . . . with four small children," Anthelia wrote. "I dont know what she will do to make a living I am very sory for her." But in spite of the relative unpredictability of wages and work at the Matoaca mill, Anthelia expressed a degree of her own economic independence and expectations for the future and a husband she had yet to meet rooted in her identity as a wage-earning weaver. "I will be sure to have enough to carry me where I want to go," she said, "if he has not."[32]

Among women in the mill villages, the realities of balancing domestic responsibilities and work in the mill often meant that the taboo against hiring black production workers and the strict segregation of black laborers and white operatives in most cotton mills did not always carry over into the wider mill village. This was especially true for interactions between white and black women, as female mill workers regularly hired black women for pennies a day to assist with their domestic responsibilities. The work done by black women in many mill villages was essential to the functioning of both the mill and the wider mill village as their paid labor in mill workers' homes made possible the mill workers' employment in the mill.[33] Black women living near mill villages often worked as housekeepers, cooks, laundresses, and midwives for the white women employed at the mill, creating relationships both economic and emotional. Take, for example, the case of Mattie Beach, a white neighbor of Danville mill worker Della Connor, who lamented to Della the death of her African American friend Vi Wilson. "We was raised together. Her mammy worked for my Ma, and from the time we was little me an' Vi didn't have no playmates 'cept each other," Mattie remembered to Della. "She was all the time takin' up for me when we was chillun, and after I growed up an' got married and my babies begun to come, Vi'd be right there to help see them into the world," Mattie continued. "I done the same by her too. I seen all her five come and I put their first clothes on 'em." But as was normative of race relations in Virginia's mill villages and in mill villages throughout the region, Mattie viewed even these intimate social interactions through a lens of white superiority. "Vi was wonderful, she never crossed nobody. . . . She had a principle, same as any white person has."[34]

Textile mill villages throughout the state and the region became increasingly ubiquitous by the 1890s, and because of their visibility as one of the largest

groups of industrial workers in the state, women employed in Virginia's textile mills were often at the center of debates related to women and industrial work. "It is here," a Petersburg newspaper editorialized about the area's cotton mills in 1856, "that they form associations which pervert their natural dispositions, and they grow up without the fair and spotless name which should always crown the life of that gentle, radiant being—woman."[35] But as the turn of the century approached, the public discussion about women and work in textile mills, often driven by reform-minded women of the middle and upper classes, moved beyond debates over whether women should be employed in industry and the impact of industrial work on women's morals, reflecting the permanency of women in this industrial workforce. "The notion that the factory creates ignorance, vice, and low tendencies is absolutely untrue," U.S. Commissioner of Labor Carroll D. Wright asserted in 1900. "Women in cotton mills and in all other factories are as careful of their characters as in any other class. . . . Women cannot work eight or ten or twelve or more hours in a cotton factory and live a dissolute life the rest of the day."[36] The focus moved to girls and women who were and would be industrial wage earners in the future.

This shift in dialogue merged with a push during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, often supported or initiated by middle-class women's organizations and northern labor unions, to enact protective legislation for women and children. By 1900 states throughout the Northeast and Midwest had adopted legislation establishing age and education requirements for children, limiting daily working hours and night work for women and children, and mandating basic rules for factory safety and sanitation, but laws in the South's textile-producing states lagged far behind. Unions and child labor reformers aggressively lobbied state legislatures throughout the South for laws mandating reductions of hours and a prohibition of child labor, in spite of resistance from southern mill owners who thought labor laws would undercut their competitive position in the industry and, at best, a cool reception from many mill workers already hard-pressed to live on wages earned by both adults and children during eleven- and twelve-hour days. These advocates of protective legislation crafted a gendered argument that positioned women and children as dependents whom the state had not only a right but also a duty to protect. Women and girls in particular demanded special protection because of their presumptive roles as future mothers. "Women are indispensable to the industries of Virginia," the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor noted, adding, "the conditions under which they work must be recognized as a definite asset or menace, as the case may be, to the well-being of the State from an industrial as well as from a social point of view." These were arguments that both reflected and reinforced women's secondary status in the industrial labor force.[37]

In 1890 Virginia was the first southern state to enact permanent protective legislation for female industrial employees, limiting the working hours

of women and children under the age of fourteen working in any "factory or manufacturing establishment" to ten hours a day. Each violation of the law resulted in fines for the employer of five to twenty dollars.[38] "The States of the South, *with a single exception*," Carter Glass, owner and editor of the *Lynchburg News* griped in 1895 about Virginia's labor legislation, "will soon witness the greatest activity in cotton milling ever known in the history of this country."[39] But in spite of such opinions, in 1898 the Virginia assembly passed another law requiring employers of women in "stores, shops, offices, or manufactories" to provide "seats, rests or stools," with fines for noncompliance. Subsequent laws passed during the first two decades of the 1900s directly affected the state's cotton textile workers, including sanitary requirements such as separate women's toilets in establishments employing both men and women and safety requirements related to covering dangerous machinery.[40]

"Lottie we are having a really nice time now," Anthelia Holt wrote to her friend in 1890, shortly after the passage of the 1890 ten-hour law. "We are working ten hours. . . . We get home a little after five oclock every evening." In practice, however, implementation of labor legislation varied from mill to mill. In 1907 a survey conducted by the Virginia Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics found that thirty-six factories representing "various industries" were in violation of the ten-hour law, with overtime ranging from fifteen minutes to four hours. In a 1919 survey of Virginia's mills and factories, the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor found managers often interpreted the seating requirements for their employees in the broadest sense, from providing wooden boxes and homemade stools to, in the case of one textile mill superintendent, "a leather strap about three inches wide which the operator could hang between two looms to make a seat when she needed a rest." Toilet and washing facilities were often insufficient or wholly absent. "It was a usual thing to find only one toilet provided for 25 or 30 women, and in many cases the number ran much higher, the worst case being 89 women," the Women's Bureau reported, adding, "It would seem to be a moderate requirement that workers should have facilities for washing in preparation for the midday meal or for their return home, and yet in 128 factories, employing 14,730 women . . . these facilities were found to be entirely lacking or quite inadequate." Despite Virginia's lead in limiting working hours for women with the passage of the ten-hour law in 1890, the Women's Bureau declared Virginia's labor laws for women wanting. The ten-hour day "is no longer a standard to be proud of," the Bureau concluded. "Except for the limitation of hours there has been very little attention given to the regulation of working conditions for women by the laws of Virginia. . . . The few provisions in the Virginia statutes which do attempt to regulate conditions of work for women are so indefinitely drawn or so restricted in their scope as to render them of little value."[41]

Through the first decades of the twentieth century, the scale of Virginia's textile production grew larger, and the center of the state's cotton textile industry

shifted from the antebellum hub near Petersburg to the southern part of the state near the North Carolina border. In 1903, as part of a series of consolidations and changes that would restructure the southern textile industry through the 1930s, the largest mills in Chesterfield County—the Matoaca, Ettrick, and Pocahontas mills—began operating under the corporate umbrella of the Virginia Consolidated Milling Company. "Each mill will be equipped with first class modern machinery and will be run by electricity" rather than water power, the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* explained to its readers. "The consolidation is for the purpose of effecting economy." As small antebellum mills such as these consolidated, larger and newer mills such as the Riverside and Dan River cotton mills in Danville became the norm across the South, producing finished goods in large factories that employed thousands.[42]

With these changes came others in subsequent decades that fundamentally reshaped the regional and national cotton textile industry. By the 1920s shifting domestic fashion trends, the introduction of synthetics, and increased overseas production had reduced demand for cotton textiles. Small mills, many with antebellum roots like those operating under the umbrella of the Virginia Consolidated Milling Company, ceased production entirely, while wages and working conditions deteriorated at mills such as those in Danville as managers increased workloads and sped up machinery in an attempt to produce more cloth at a lower cost and seize a larger share of the crowded marketplace. Labor militancy surged among discontented workers throughout the textile South in the late 1920s and 1930s, and by World War II organized labor had established a tenuous union foothold in the region's mills. In the decades following the war, southern cotton manufacturers began abandoning the mill village system to save costs in the face of growing competition from global manufacturers, and the slow dismantling of an institution that had shaped the lives of generations of textile workers throughout the region began. Through the 1960s, southern mills shed one of the last vestiges of the industry's past when management, often grudgingly, began hiring black workers in large numbers and integrating the region's textile workforce.

Through these changes, shared experiences as women and as workers continued to bind Virginia's female cotton textile workers to one another, to a larger community of textile workers throughout the South, and to a history remembered as a bittersweet mingling of hard times, harder work, and community. "Sounds like you never had time for any fun growin' up, Ma," Della Connor's daughter Hallie lamented about Della's life as a mill operative. "Oh yes, we had some good times," Della countered with recollections of her mill village youth "foolin' around, singin' and dancing and courtin'," even after working days that left her "dead tired." Though Hallie "thought that didn't sound bad," Della "wanted her girls to have an education—to have opportunities she thought learning would give them." If Della "had anything to say about it," neither Hallie nor her other daughter Frances "would follow in her footsteps to the mill."[43]

NOTES

1. *Manufacturers' Record*, August 1888, 11.

2. Broadus Mitchell, *William Gregg: Factory Master of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1928); William Gregg, *Essays on Domestic Industry: An Inquiry into the Expediency of Establishing Cotton Manufactures in South Carolina* (Charleston, S.C.: Burges & James, 1845); Bess Beatty, *Alamance: The Holt Family and Industrialization in a North Carolina County, 1837–1900* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999); Michael Gagnon, *Transition to an Industrial South: Athens, Georgia, 1830–1870* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012); Randall Martin Miller, *The Cotton Mill Movement in Antebellum Alabama* (New York: Arno Press, 1978); Susanna Delfino and Michele Gillespie, eds., *Global Perspectives on Industrial Transformation in the American South* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005); Allen Heath Stokes, "Black and White Labor and the Development of the Southern Textile Industry, 1800–1920" (PhD diss., University of South Carolina, 1977), 13–97.

3. Figures from Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Virginia: Containing a Collection of the Most Interesting Facts, Traditions, Biographical Sketches, &c., Relating to Its History and Antiquities, Together with Geographical and Statistical Description to Which Is Appended, an Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the District of Columbia* (Charleston, S.C.: Babcock & Company, 1845), 130, cited in Stokes, "Black and White Labor," 63; Susanne Lebsock, *The Free Women of Petersburg: Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784–1860* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984), 182. On outwork in the antebellum industry, see Bess Beatty, "I Can't Get My Bored on Them Old Lomes: Female Workers in the Antebellum South," in Susanna Delfino and Michele Gillespie, eds., *Neither Lady nor Slave: Working Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 250.

4. Francis Earle Lutz, *Chesterfield: An Old Virginia County* (Richmond: William Byrd, 1954), 193–94. Lebsock notes that tobacco factories far outnumbered cotton mills in Virginia, with twenty tobacco factories in Petersburg alone in 1860 employing more than 2,500 (*Free Women of Petersburg*, 183). "Osanburg," correctly spelled osnaburg, was a type of coarse fabric, originally made from flax or jute in the early eighteenth century. By the nineteenth century osnaburg was often used to describe any coarse cloth, including cloth made from cotton. Osnaburg was commonly used for sheeting and, in the South, as material for slave clothing.

5. U.S. Census Bureau, *Manufactures of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census, under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1865), xiii, xxi, 604–37; A. Wilson Greene, *Civil War Petersburg: Confederate City in the Crucible of War* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006), 113–14.

6. *Richmond Evening State Journal*, October 17, 1871.

7. *Richmond Evening State Journal*, June 26, 1872.

8. U.S. Census Bureau, *Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900*, vol. 8, *Manufactures, Part II: States and Territories* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Office, 1902), 904. A large body of historical scholarship engages with the development of the post–Civil War textile industry in a regional context, though the majority of the discussion focuses on the four leading textile states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. See Broadus Mitchell, *The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1921); C. Vann Woodward, *The Origins of the New South: 1877–1913* (1951; reprint, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971); David Carlton, *Mill and Town in South Carolina, 1880–1920* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982); Gavin Wright, *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy since the Civil War* (New York: Basic Books, 1986); Jacqueline Dowd Hall et al., *Like a Family: The Making of a Southern Cotton Mill World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987); Edward Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

9. *Richmond Evening State Journal*, April 18, 1871; E. W. Thomas, "The Advantages of Diversifying Manufactures in the South," in Southern Cotton Spinners Association, *Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Convention of the Southern Cotton Spinners Association* (1903), 151.

10. Lebsock, *Free Women of Petersburg*, 182–87; "Poor Girls Who Might Otherwise Be Wretched: The Origins of Paternalism in North Carolina's Mills, 1836–1880," in Jeffrey Leiter, Michael D. Schulman, and Rhonda Zingraff, eds., *Hanging by a Thread: Social Change in Southern Textiles* (Ithaca, N.Y.: ILR Press, 1991), 21–32; Susanna Delfino, Michele Gillespie, and Louis M. Kyriakoudes, "Editors' Introduction" in *Southern Society and Its Transformations, 1790–1860* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2011), 9–24, especially 13–16; Thomas Dublin, *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826–1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979); Steven Hahn and Jonathan Prude, eds., *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation: Essays in the Social History of Rural America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

11. In 1900 nearly one-third of the country's textile workforce was in the South. U.S. Census Bureau, *Manufactures of the United States in 1860*, 604; Census Bureau, *Twelfth Census of the United States*, vol. 8, part II, 905. Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1869–1877* (New York: Harper Collins, 1989), 393–408; Wright, *Old South, New South*, 19–35, 99–130; Ayers, *Promise of the New South*, 113–14, 198–205; Hall et al., *Like a Family*, 3–18, 31–40; I. A. Newby, *Plain Folk in the New South: Social Change and Cultural Persistence, 1880–1915* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 23–61, 83–86. As noted by Ayers, of the nearly hundred thousand textile workers in the region, two-thirds were in North and South Carolina, one-fifth in Georgia, and the remaining in Alabama, Virginia, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Kentucky mills (*Promise of the New South*, 111).

12. Gregg, *Essays on Domestic Industry*, 22; Stokes, "Black and White Labor," 1–12; 98–132; Tom Terrill, "Eager Hands for Southern Textiles, 1850–1860," *Journal of Economic History* 36 (March 1976): 84–101; Beatty, "Them Old Lomes," 252–53; Peter Rachleff, *Black Labor in Richmond, 1865–1890* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989); Lebsock, *Free Women of Petersburg*, 182–83; Delfino et al., "Editors' Introduction," 15–16.

13. *News Courier*, November 5, 1881, quoted in Mitchell, *Rise of Cotton Mills*, 178. For extended analyses of race in the post–Civil War textile industry, see especially Michelle Brattain, *The Politics of Whiteness: Race, Workers, and Culture in the Modern South* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001); Bryant Simon, *A Fabric of Defeat: The Politics of South Carolina Millhands, 1910–1948* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Clifford Kuhn, *Contesting the New South Order: The 1914–1915 Strike at Atlanta's Fulton Mills* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Dolores Janiewski, *Sisterhood Denied: Race, Gender, and Class in a New South Community* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985); Timothy Minchin, *Hiring the Black Worker: Racial Integration in the Southern Textile Industry, 1960–1980* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

14. The Holt-Clark letters are in the Lottie V. Clark Collection, Earl Gregg Swem Library, Manuscripts and Rare Books Department, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia. For an extended analysis of Anthelia Holt's letters, see Beth English, "'I . . . have a lot of work to do': Cotton Mill Work and Women's Culture in Matoaca, Virginia, 1888–1895," in David Roediger, ed., *The Best American History Essays 2008* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), reprinted from *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 114, no. 3 (2006): 226–53. An edited selection of the Holt-Clark correspondence is forthcoming in Beth English, "Anthelia Holt: The Correspondence of a Textile Mill Worker," in Melissa Walker and Giselle Roberts, eds., *Women of the South: The Progressive Era* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, Women's Diaries and Letters of the South Series, forthcoming).

15. Federal Writers' Project, Della Connor interviewed by Pearl Morrissett, edited by Edna Stevens, May 5, 1939. Danville, Va., 12941, 12944–46 (microfilm). The original Federal Writers' Project manuscripts are at the Library of Congress.

16. A household here is defined as the number of individuals living under one roof, including family members and nonfamily members such as borders and servants. U.S. Census Bureau, *Tenth Federal Census of the Population*, Chesterfield County, Virginia, 1880, and *Twelfth Federal Census of*

the Population, Chesterfield County, Virginia, 1900 (microfilm). The 1890 census of the population is not included here as the records of Chesterfield County were destroyed by a fire in the 1920s. These figures track closely to those of surveyed Virginia and other southern mills compiled in U.S. Senate, *Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States*, vol. 1 (Cotton Textile Industry), Senate document no. 645 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1910).

17. Census Bureau, *Tenth Federal Census*, Chesterfield County, and *Twelfth Federal Census*, Chesterfield County; U.S. Census Bureau, *Non-Population Schedules* (Productions of Agriculture), Chesterfield County, Virginia, 1880 (microfilm). On the family's agricultural activities, see Anthelia Holt to Lottie Clark, April 29, 1891; November 28, 1891; July 14, 1892; and November 25, 1894. The Holt family had a long history in Matoaca. Alpheus Holt's father and Anthelia's grandfather, Clemans Holt, moved his family to Matoaca in the late 1840s. Larry Franklin Holt and Philip Larry McEwen, *The Holt Family of Matoaca Virginia* (n.p.: privately printed, 2003).

18. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Summary of the Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States*, Women in Industry Series, no. 5 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1915), 66.

19. Anthelia Holt to Lottie Clark, September 31 [*sic*], 1889, and November 28, 1891. Spelling and punctuation in the Holt-Clark letters have been maintained from the original correspondences.

20. Della Connor interview, 12942–43, 12945.

21. Anthelia Holt to Lottie Clark, September 21, December 1, and December 14, 1893. For examples of recreation during mill closures and work stoppages, see English, "'I . . . have a lot of work to do," especially 148–49.

22. *Alexandria Gazette and Virginia Advertiser*, June 15, 1904; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, August 26, 1904; *Alexandria Gazette and Virginia Advertiser*, August 29, 1904; *Highland Recorder*, October 21, 1904.

23. U.S. Senate, *Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States*, vol. 16 (Family Budgets of Typical Cotton-Mill Workers), Senate document no. 645 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1911), 36–37.

24. *Roanoke Times*, June 3 and June 9, 1897. Although short-term walkouts of this type took place in mills throughout the textile South in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, organized protests under the umbrella of unions were more infrequent and until the 1930s and 1940s rarely led to permanent unions in the mills. Among the extensive literature on the history of unions in the southern textile industry, see especially George Sinclair Mitchell, *Textile Unionism and the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1931); Melton A. McLaurin, *Paternalism and Protest: Southern Cotton Mill Workers and Organized Labor, 1875–1905* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1971); Cletus Daniel, *Culture of Misfortune: An Interpretive History of Textile Unionism in the United States* (Ithaca, N.Y.: ILR Press, 2001); Kuhn, *Contesting the New South Order*.

25. *Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States*, vol. 1 (1910), 32, 49.

26. U.S. Department of Labor, *Report on Woman and Child Wage Earners (1905)*, 23–24, quote from 24. See also Hall et al., *Like a Family*, 46–51; Alice Galenson, *The Migration of the Cotton Textile Industry from New England to the South, 1880–1930* (New York: Garland, 1985), chap. 4; Gay L. Gillickson, "Technology, Gender and Rural Culture: Normandy and the Piedmont," in Leiter et al., *Hanging by a Thread*, 49–52. On technology, see also Susanna Delfino and Michele Gillespie, *Technology, Innovation, and Southern Industrialization: From the Antebellum Era to the Computer Age* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008).

27. Douglas Flamming, "'Give Her Some Out of That': Cotton Mill Girls, Family Wages, and the Question of Female Independence in the New South," in Glenn T. Eskew, ed., *Labor in the Modern South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001), 48.

28. Virginia, *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics for the State of Virginia, 1900* (Richmond, Va.: J. H. O'Bannon, 1900), 88–93.

29. *Report on Woman and Child Wage-Earners* (1910), 1:590. On wages and the gendered division of labor, see also Flamming, "'Give Her Some Out of That,'" 47–61. Hall et al., *Like a Family*, 66–81; Alice Kessler-Harris, *A Woman's Wage: Historical Meanings and Social Consequences* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 3–31; Cathy McHugh, *Mill Family: The Labor System in the Southern Cotton Textile Industry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 7–38.

30. Federal Writers' Project, Mary Abbott interviewed by Pearl Morrissett, edited by Ann Heaton, February 21, 1939. Danville, Va., 12930 (microfilm). From the expansive literature on mill villages, the family labor system, and paternalism in the southern textile industry, see especially McHugh, *Mill Family*; Hall et al., *Like a Family*; Carlton, *Mill and Town*; Douglas Flamming, *Creating the Modern South: Millhands and Managers in Dalton, Georgia, 1884–1984* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Newby, *Plain Folk in the New South*.

31. Anthelia Holt to Lottie Clark, April 27, 1894, and October 4, 1892. For an extended discussion of these networks, see English, "'I . . . have a lot of work to do'"; Hall et al., *Like a Family*, 139–71.

32. Anthelia Holt to Lottie Clark, September 10, 1895.

33. See Victoria Byerly, *Hard Times Cotton Mill Girls: Personal Histories of Womanhood and Poverty in the South* (Ithaca, N.Y.: ILR Press, 1986), especially 125–27; Janiewski, *Sisterhood Denied*.

34. Della Connor interview, 12948–49.

35. *Petersburg Express*, December 16, 1856, quoted in Lebsock, *Free Women of Petersburg*, 183.

36. Carroll D. Wright, "The Factory as an Element in Social Life," in *Transactions of the New England Cotton Manufacturers Association*, no. 69 (Waltham, Mass.: E. L. Barry, 1900), 85.

37. U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Hours and Conditions of Work for Women in Industry in Virginia*, Bulletin no. 19 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1920), 9. On gendered dimensions of protective legislation, see Nancy Woloch, *A Class by Herself: Protective Laws for Women Workers, 1890s–1990s* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2015); Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 180–214. See also Addison Cutler, "Labor Legislation in Thirteen Southern States," *Southern Economic Journal* 7 (1941): 297–316; Daniel Nelson, *Managers and Workers: Origins of the Twentieth-Century Factory System in the United States, 1880–1920*, 2nd ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995).

38. Virginia, *Acts and Joint Resolutions Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia during the session of 1889–1890* (Richmond, Va.: J. W. Randolph & English, 1890), 150. Alabama passed the South's first law limiting the working hours of women and children in 1887, but under significant pressure from the textile and coal industries, Alabama's legislature repealed this law in 1894. See Beth English, *A Common Thread: Labor, Politics, and Capital Mobility in the Textile Industry* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006), chap. 3.

39. *Lynchburg News*, January 18, 1895, italics added. In 1912 the legislature amended the ten-hour law to include women and children under age fourteen working in mercantile establishments on Saturdays and in laundries. Bureau of Labor Statistics of Virginia, *Twentieth Annual Report* (1914), 129.

40. Virginia, *Acts and Joint Resolutions*, 1897–1898, 45–46.

41. Anthelia Holt to Lottie Clark, March 14, 1890; Bureau of Labor Statistics of Virginia, *Eleventh Annual Report* (1908), 234–235; Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, *Hours and Conditions of Work for Women in Industry in Virginia*, quoted selections from 10, 20, 21.

42. *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, May 30, 1903; Virginia Consolidated Milling Company, *Handbook of Information in Reference to the Virginia Consolidated Milling Company* (Petersburg, Va.: Buchanan Manufacturing Company, 1903); *Davison's Textile Bluebook*, 1919–1920 (New York: Davison, 1919).

43. Della Connor interview, 12942, 12945. For an extended analysis of work, community, and memory in the textile South, see Hall et al., *Like a Family*.

Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph

Mother of Daughters

CAROLINE E. JANNEY

❀ ❀ ❀

"Mother Richmond is dead," lamented the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* on October 28, 1927. Writing her obituary, Douglas Southall Freeman, editor of the *Richmond News Leader* and soon-to-be famed biographer of Robert E. Lee, opined that had Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph "been a man, she would have risen to eminence in public life, for she had all the qualities that would have made for success."[1] Despite being a woman, by the time of her death Randolph had become well known throughout Virginia and the South as president of the Richmond chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) and an officer in numerous other Confederate organizations. Perhaps Freeman offered his observation in large part because unlike so many of her counterparts, Randolph had devoted nearly as much of her time to business and benevolent endeavors as she did to protecting Confederate memory. In the wake of her husband's death, she had served as president of the family corporation, attended business meetings in New York City, acted as the matriarch of a household that included her adult children, and lobbied the state legislature on behalf of women's education. Even more surprising, she offered a striking anomaly to many members of the UDC in her efforts to extend her motherly compassion across the color line of segregated Virginia. Though a pioneer and leader among the Daughters, Randolph was most often described as a maternal figure, popularly known as "Mother Richmond" from the 1910s until her death. Reconciling the image of a gentle southern lady with a Progressive Era reformer, under the banner of motherhood she opened doors for herself and improved the lives of those throughout her community. As Mother Richmond, no less than as a Daughter of the Confederacy, she claimed her place in Virginia history.

Born in 1848 at Cleiland, her family's estate near Warrenton, Virginia, Janet was the eldest child of Richard Arrel Weaver and Janet Cleiland Horner. Her father had been educated for the law and practiced for a few years before coming into a substantial portion of land through his marriage and turning his attention to farming. As a lawyer-turned-planter, Weaver oversaw a several-hundred-acre estate, approximately thirty slaves, and a bustling household of female kin including his wife, two young daughters, two nieces whose parents had died, and an elderly aunt. The young Weaver girls as well as their cousins enjoyed a relatively privileged life throughout the 1850s, playing in the woods near the plantation looking for wildflowers and birds, often under the tutelage of a governess from Connecticut who lived with the family for four years. It was an idyllic life, Janet later recalled, growing up in the large farmhouse replete with its front porch graced with honeysuckle and "roses running wild."[2]

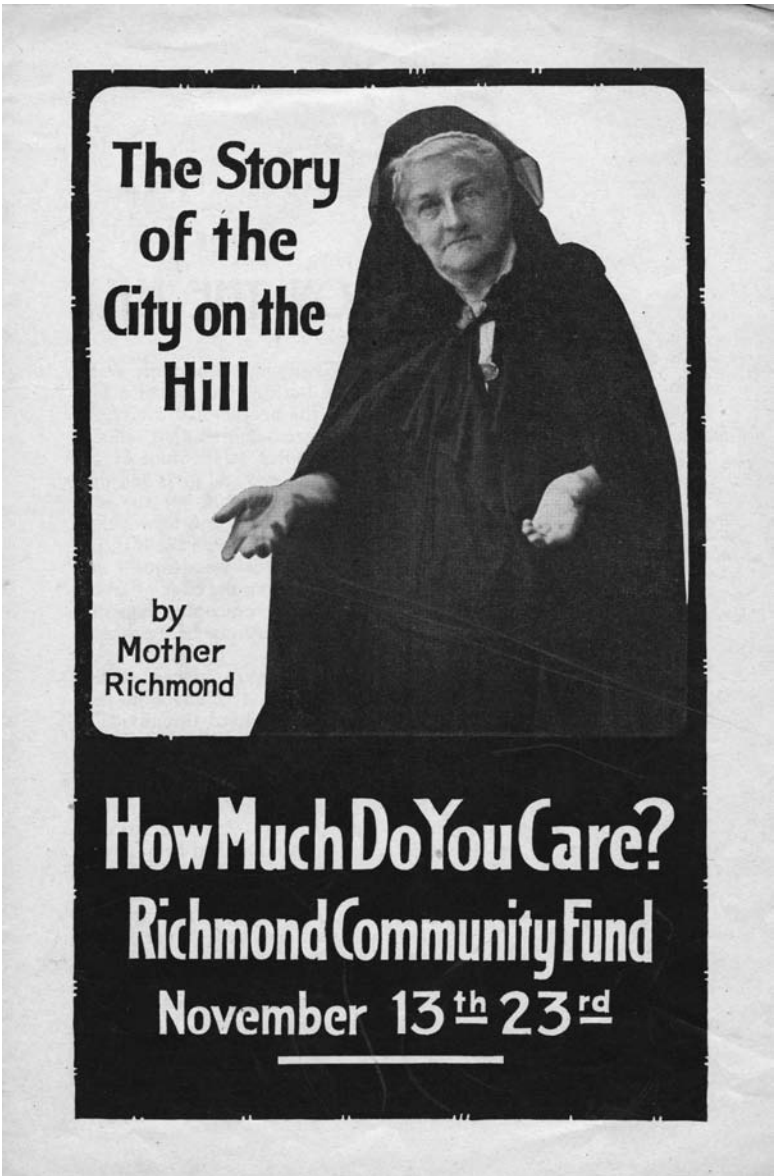
In April 1861, when Janet was thirteen, life changed dramatically. Throughout the winter and early spring her father, a devoted Whig, had opposed secession. But when Virginia voted to leave the Union in mid-April, forty-year-old Richard Weaver quickly rallied behind his state, enlisting in the Warrenton Rifles, Seventeenth Virginia Infantry, only days later. With her father away in the army, Janet, her mother, and her ten-year-old sister Meta closed up Cleiland and moved into her maternal grandfather's former home in town on Winchester Street.[3] On July 21 the first major battle of the war erupted twenty miles away at Manassas Junction, and the Weaver women hunkered down in the house listening to the gunfire as they rolled bandages, scraped lint, and stuffed feathers into pillows anticipating the influx of wounded soldiers who would soon make their way to Warrenton. In the wake of the battle, the town was indeed deluged with the wounded. They filled the schoolhouse, churches, and private homes, including that of the Weavers. For weeks Janet, her mother, young sister, and the family slaves nursed several soldiers, including Archie Kennedy of the Fourth Alabama. By mid-August Archie had returned home, and his grateful mother penned a heartfelt thank you to the Weaver household. "Such kindness bestowed on my son when he lay wounded, sick and out of reach of a Mother's care has awakened a gratitude in my heart too deep for utterance," she wrote. Her son had informed her of the loving care he had received from Mrs. Weaver and her daughters, who nursed him, attended to all his wants, and even sat by the bed shooing away flies. "You cannot imagine the pleasure such information gave me nor the good feeling of gratitude it inspired for the kind hearted benefactress," she informed them. Whether she realized it or not, such moments would profoundly shape young Janet's life, decades later leading her back to nursing and caring for aging and indigent Confederates and their widows.[4]

By the following spring, life on Winchester Street had become increasingly difficult. In mid-May Richard Weaver died in Richmond of a fever contracted

JANET RANDOLPH'S MOTHER'S HOME

The Warrenton, Virginia, home is accompanied by a photograph of a young Randolph and a much older Randolph holding one of her granddaughters.

Reproduced from *Richmond Magazine*, April 1915.



RICHMOND COMMUNITY FUND POSTERS

During the Richmond Community Fund campaign in 1925, posters and billboards throughout the city employed Randolph's image to raise donations for charitable organizations.

Courtesy of the Museum of the Confederacy.

during the Peninsula Campaign. Back in Warrenton, his widow and daughters frequently found themselves behind Federal lines and subject to raids that cleared both their town home and Cleiland of food, livestock, and firewood. Even with the labor of household and field slaves, they struggled financially. Trying to make the best of their situation, Janet and her sister baked homemade pies, cakes, breads, and sweetmeats, which they sold to the Union soldiers for precious U.S. greenbacks. But this was not enough. In desperation, Janet's mother and the wife of the local rector set out for Philadelphia in search of relatives who might aid them. In Alexandria, Virginia, they were arrested as spies and held for two days in the guardhouse. Once their credentials had been established, the two continued on their journey only to find themselves again in trouble with Federal authorities. This time they were sent to Annapolis with Confederate prisoners to be exchanged when they refused to take the oath of loyalty. Four months after leaving in search of some form of relief to bide the family through the war, Janet Horner Weaver returned home with little to show for her efforts beyond a harrowing tale of strength and devotion to the Confederate war effort.[5]

Though only a teenager, Janet was equally as committed to the southern cause. In the aftermath of Second Manassas she again helped nurse wounded soldiers, both Union and Confederate, brought to their home. But unlike Archie Kennedy of Alabama, in the summer of 1862 James K. P. Harris of the Fifth Texas Infantry would never return to a grateful mother. Instead, Janet, her mother, sister, and other women in the community would lay him to rest in the local cemetery. Of course Harris was not the only Confederate soldier to succumb to wounds and disease in the hospitals and homes of Warrenton. Countless others, too, would slumber for eternity in the town's cemeteries. But along with other women in the town, the Weaver women refused to forget the sacrifice of these young soldiers, beseeching a carpenter to make wooden headpieces for the graves. For days on end that late summer, the girls sat on their back porch painting the boards white and leaning them against the railing to dry. With hospital records in hand, they stenciled the names of the fallen and their regiments on the makeshift markers. Months later, a Federal raiding party encamped near the cemetery used the headboards for campfires.[6]

In later years, like many other former Confederates, Janet would occasionally recall that some northern soldiers had been generous and merciful. But in the wake of Confederate defeat, she held no such sympathies. "Oh! The thought is sickening," she wrote her friend Mary in July 1865, that "after all the hardships, and suffering our noble men have endured . . . that at last we should have to submit to the hated Yankees." "The very thought makes my blood run cold," she conceded. Yet she had not yet given up all hope. "It cannot be that their lives have been given up for nothing, and a day of reckoning must come although it may be far distant," she assured Mary. Like countless other Confederate women

of her class, she clung to unreconstructed and antireconciliationist sentiments. Yet this same letter also reflected her youth, lamenting the boredom that had arrived with peace. "It seems very dull to us young people," she admitted, "after such a life of excitement as we have had for the last four years."[7] Like the soldiers who had survived the horrors of camp and battle, she would later remember the war as the most exciting, important, and impressionable period of her life. And like those veterans, her wartime experiences nursing wounded soldiers coupled with Confederate defeat had forever altered her life and the causes she would pursue.

Five years later, much remained the same. Janet still resided at her mother's home in Fauquier County along with her sister and at least five former slaves now hired as domestics and laborers.[8] But in 1880 at the age of thirty-two, she married widowed Confederate veteran and businessman Norman Vincent Randolph. It is likely that they had met during the war. Perhaps the teenage Janet had caught a glimpse of Randolph as he traversed the countryside around Warrenton with John Singleton Mosby's Rangers, the Forty-Third Battalion. Or perhaps she had tended to him when he convalesced from wounds received at Upperville in 1863.[9] Regardless, when the couple wed in June 1880, he was the father of two young children: Nina, age six, and Norman Jr., not yet four years old. They returned to his hometown of Richmond where the family resided with his parents while he worked variously as a bookseller in his father's shop, an agent for the Virginia State Insurance Company, vice president of James Taylor Ellyson's Old Dominion Savings and Loans, and eventually president of the Richmond Paper Box Company. By December 1881 Janet had given birth to a son of her own. But tragedy soon struck when one-year-old Joseph died in 1883. The blessings of more children would soon follow, however, with the arrival of three daughters: Janet Cleiland (born 1884), Meta Lee (1886), and Norah (1890).[10]

While Janet was busy tending to a household of five children and stepchildren plus the daughter of her recently deceased sister, Richmond had become a bustling hub of Confederate memorial activity. Since 1866 at least three different Ladies' Memorial Associations (LMAs) had been working to assure respectable graves for those Confederates who had fallen in and around the former Confederate capital. Each spring since they had orchestrated three separate Memorial Days to honor those men. In 1870, Virginia's readmission to the union, which marked the end of Reconstruction in the state, and the death of Robert E. Lee brought Virginia's men into the memorial movement. Veterans such as former Confederate general Jubal A. Early inaugurated the Lee Monument Association, committed to honoring their fallen chieftain in marble; the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia, bent on perpetuating the veterans' legacy; and eventually the Southern Historical Society (originally based in New Orleans) dedicated to defending the legacy of the Confederate cause.[11] By 1883 yet another

veterans' association had formed in the city, the R. E. Lee Camp of Confederate Veterans, which Norman Randolph soon joined. The camp's primary goals were twofold: to perpetuate the memories of their fallen comrades and to "minister as far as practicable to the wants of those who were permanently disabled in the service." Indeed, by 1891 caring for these veterans had become one of Norman Randolph's primary responsibilities as the president of the soldier's home.[12]

Likely inspired by her husband's activities and no doubt recalling her wartime experiences tending to wounded soldiers, in 1892 Janet Randolph began earnestly to pursue Confederate memorial work. That year she emerged as an active member of the R. E. Lee Camp Ladies' Auxiliary, attending a meeting of the city's leading Confederate women's organizations who were planning a memorial bazaar to help raise funds for a monument to the common soldiers and sailors of the Confederacy. Her energy and efficiency at organizing was not lost on the women of the Hollywood Memorial Association (HMA) or their spin-off organization, the Confederate Memorial Literary Society (CMLS) created explicitly to preserve the White House of the Confederacy as the Confederate Museum. She soon joined both the CMLS and HMA and found herself appointed to chair a table at the April 1893 bazaar.[13]

Though she proved a dedicated member of these memorial groups, Janet allotted most of her energy between 1894 and 1895 to the welfare work of the Lee Camp Ladies' Auxiliary. For years the organization had struggled to attract membership, competing with the more popular HMA and then CMLS. But in the wake of the 1893 depression, when so many in Richmond found themselves without work, the Ladies' Auxiliary found their own niche raising money to distribute goods to destitute Confederate families. With Randolph serving as the corresponding secretary, the group sent appeals to counties throughout the state requesting donations and asked that the railroads transport any goods to the auxiliary free of charge. Their efforts paid off. In the fall of 1894 alone, the women assisted thirty-five families and delivered 145 boxes containing vegetables, meats, oysters, canned fruits, tea, coffee, and sugar.[14]

Despite the Ladies' Auxiliary's success, Randolph found herself pulled in another direction to fulfill her Confederate memorial work. Indeed, for thirty-one years, her primary devotion was to Richmond's United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) chapter, a group she founded in January 1896.[15] An outgrowth of LMAS and other Confederate memorial societies that had been active since 1866, the national organization of the Daughters organized in 1894, directing most of its efforts toward raising funds for Confederate monuments, sponsoring Memorial Days, caring for indigent Confederate widows, sponsoring essay contests and fellowships for southern students, and maintaining Confederate museums and relic collections. A hereditary association (much like the Daughters of the American Revolution), the UDC admitted only the relatives of those devoted to the southern cause: Confederate veterans' female kin, Confederate women who

had experienced the "dangers, sufferings, and privations" of the war, and the documented descendants of both these groups. Nationally, the UDC grew rapidly in membership and influence; during its first year alone, twenty chapters were chartered, quickly becoming one of the most active and vocal Confederate associations.[16]

By 1896 Richmond was bustling with Confederate veterans' posts, a Sons of Confederate Veterans group, three Ladies' Memorial Associations, the Ladies' Auxiliary, and the CMLS. But there was no UDC in the former Confederate capital. That January, even as she continued to serve as the treasurer of the Ladies' Auxiliary and took on the role of vice regent of the Tennessee Room in the White House of the Confederacy, Randolph founded the city's first UDC chapter. By February the chapter had begun in earnest to solicit membership, meeting at her home on East Grace Street. Looking beyond the city, Randolph traveled to Charlottesville for a meeting to create the Grand Division. She was elected second vice president of this state-level organization.[17]

Under Randolph's leadership, the Richmond UDC became one of the largest and most active chapters in the country, at one point commanding upward of five hundred members. During her tenure as president (which lasted until her death in 1927), she encouraged Richmond's Daughters to avoid excessive "sentimentalism" and focus on how they might improve their society. Building on her work in the Ladies' Auxiliary, she urged the Daughters to address not only Confederate memorial and historical issues but also issues relating to the relief of Confederate widows. She encouraged the UDC to contribute more liberally to the Confederate Museum and encouraged the Virginia Division to pass a resolution in 1907 pledging at least one dollar annually from each chapter. In her dual role as UDC chapter president and vice regent of the Tennessee Room, she worked diligently at eliciting support for the museum from beyond the commonwealth, eventually securing funding from the Tennessee legislature to endow the room completely.[18]

Randolph was likewise an outspoken critic of men's organizations such as the R. E. Lee Camp (of which her husband was a member) when they failed to adhere to her standards of conduct. She repeatedly—and very publicly—challenged decisions made by the men and offered them unsolicited advice on how to run their affairs. Like most members of the HMA and CMLS, she discouraged the United Confederate Veterans (UCV) and Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) from building a monument to Confederate women, believing that the Confederate Museum served in its own right as a monument to southern womanhood and women's devotion to "the Cause." But her actions often went much further. In 1898, for instance, she penned a terse letter to Commander John E. Laughton Jr. of the R. E. Lee Camp; the letter appeared in a Richmond newspaper instructing the veterans to protest conferring the title of "daughter of the Confederacy" on anyone. "There was but one Daughter of the Confederacy born to

[Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy] while he held that office, therefore, with the death of the lamented Winnie Davis, the title ceases forever," she declared. Almost immediately, the camp adopted a resolution concurring with Randolph's protest. The following year she chastised the veterans for not doing their part to help mark the graves of Confederate prison dead. Addressing UCV commander in chief General John B. Gordon at the veterans' annual reunion, she beseeched the men to live up to their honor by supporting the women's work through donations. And during one of the fiercest battles to rage between Confederate women and men in greater Richmond, she was one of the most outspoken critics of the veterans' plans to create a "Battle Abbey" or repository to collect the records and relics of the "Southern Cause" at a site other than the CMLS's Confederate Museum.[19]

Perhaps no issue raised Randolph's ire more than the controversy over interring Confederate remains in Arlington National Cemetery. At the Atlanta Peace Jubilee on December 14, 1898, in the wake of the Spanish-American War, President William McKinley proposed that the federal government should assist in caring for the graves of *all* who had fallen in the war. "Sectional lines no longer mar the United States," the president asserted. "Sectional feeling no longer holds back the love we bear each other." The following year the UCV followed up on the president's offer requesting that Congress allow the remains of Confederate soldiers still scattered around the nation's capital to be interred at Arlington.[20]

As the self-appointed protectors of the Confederate dead, Randolph and her allies were enraged. Not only had the veterans failed to consult southern women on a matter that had been the chief responsibility of ladies' memorial associations since 1866, but even more distressing was the women's belief that the federal government would forbid the erection of a monument to ex-Confederates in Arlington. To support their claims, they recalled an effort by a Philadelphia chapter of the UDC in 1899 to erect a monument to the unknown Confederate dead in the Germantown national cemetery. The local Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) post, along with the national commander in chief, had rebuffed the effort, insisting that traitors did not deserve to rest next to the Union dead and threatening to blow up any such monument if it were erected. Equally as unafraid of tangling with Union veterans as she was Confederate veterans, Randolph warned the GAR that if it followed through with its threat, the UDC would sue for "damages enough to erect a handsomer memorial." Named the chair of the Committee on Marking the Graves of Our Prison Dead by the national UDC, Randolph followed up with letters to President McKinley and the War Department. Both adamantly refused to allow the Confederate monument in the national cemetery. "We feel, in making this request, that we also belong to the United States," she wrote, "but it seems not."[21]

Given what they perceived as a stern denunciation of their cause, throughout the next year Randolph, the Daughters, and the Confederated Southern Memorial Association (CSMA), a coalition of LMAs from throughout the South, fought the mounting momentum to reinter Confederate prisoners of war in national cemeteries and most especially Arlington. Writing to John B. Gordon on behalf of the women's associations, she insisted that the Confederate remains resting in Arlington be disinterred and restored to southern communities such as Richmond. "We want our dead," she wrote the UCV commander in chief. "We are going to have our dead . . . [with] a monument to tell how & where & for what they died."[22] As for those who thought Arlington a fitting place for Confederate heroes who died in northern prisons, Randolph informed the Grand Division of the UDC in October 1900 that she "was willing that such supine men should themselves sleep in Arlington, but these heroes . . . should sleep in Dixie—in Hollywood." Despite the objections of Randolph and the other Confederate women's associations, by 1906 reinterment of Confederate dead had begun in Arlington—albeit in a separate section. They would not be buried alongside the Union dead.[23]

Even while embroiled in this heated debate, Randolph continued to take on other leadership positions at the local, state, and national levels. By 1900 she was serving simultaneously as the president of the Richmond UDC, president of the HMA Juniors (a group that welcomed anyone age ten and up in order to encourage Confederate sympathy among the South's youth), treasurer of the Ladies' Auxiliary, recording secretary of Virginia's Grand Division, and chair of the national UDC's Committee on Marking Graves of Our Prison Dead. Her most visible new role, however, was as chair of the Central Committee of the Davis Monument Association.[24]

In 1894 the UCV had established the Jefferson Davis Monument Association with the hope of erecting a memorial to the Confederate president in Richmond. But five years later their efforts had yielded only $20,000—too small a sum for the grand monument they envisioned. Recognizing that women's groups had proved especially adept at fund-raising and monument building, the veterans asked that the Daughters take over the project. Agreeing in 1899, the UDC appointed Randolph to serve as the committee's chair, overseeing directors from each of the state divisions. She quickly proved to be the woman for the job, traveling throughout the South soliciting donations, penning letters to newspapers calling on every Confederate veterans' camp and UDC chapter to support the memorial, and convincing the CSMA to endorse the effort. As had been the case in other endeavors, she was never shy about berating the veterans when they did not contribute. In the pages of the March 1902 *Confederate Veteran* she reminded the UCV that it had failed to build the monument and promised assistance when it asked the Daughters to take the reins. "Have you done

your duty—have you fulfilled your promise?" she asked. "If you had, we would have already commenced the actual erection of the monument. You have not done your duty," she chided. A physically commanding woman by these years (a group of schoolchildren once referred to her as "Mrs. 'Normous' Randolph"), it seemed that men tended to "listen with healthy respect" when she spoke.[25]

By the fall of 1902 the fifty-four-year-old Randolph was overwhelmed, discouraged, and exhausted. At the annual meeting of the Grand Division she attempted in vain to tender her resignation from the Davis Monument Association, citing her husband's illness and frustration that she had been unable to accomplish more. Though the women assured her they would do more to help her raise funds, including staging a bazaar the following spring, there was nothing they could do to aid her ailing husband. On March 13, 1903, Norman V. Randolph died at the age of fifty-six. A prominent businessman closely associated with the city's Confederate charitable associations, his funeral was attended by every veterans' organization in the city along with nearly all his Paper Box Company employees.[26] And though she did not attend, Varina Davis took the time to write to Janet in the days after Norman's death, recalling how he had led the cortege for the Confederate president's reburial services in Richmond. Davis had been bereft at the death of her husband, she wrote, and she was even more distressed to learn that Randolph's eldest daughter Cleiland was ill. Indeed, less than three weeks after her father's death, eighteen-year-old Janet Cleiland Randolph succumbed to a lengthy illness at the family residence on Sixth and Grace Streets.[27]

Perhaps trying to find a way of distracting herself in the wake of her husband's and eldest daughter's deaths only weeks earlier, Randolph renewed her efforts on behalf of the Davis monument. As the honorary president of the Confederate Bazaar Association (a coalition of the UDC and CSMA), she oversaw the two-week fund-raiser that she described as the "last great rally for the Confederacy." Under Randolph's direction, the bazaar proved a triumphant success, adding $20,000 into the Davis Monument Association's coffers. Two years later, she reported to General Stephen Lee, commander in chief of the UCV, that the monument was an "assured fact." The Daughters had managed to raise enough money, select the design, and set the unveiling for June 3, 1907. Triumphant at last, on the day of the dedication, Randolph took center stage, delivering an address alongside the governor and other prominent men.[28]

Even as she continued to devote her time to Confederate efforts, in the years following her husband's death Randolph found prospects to expand her sphere of influence. Immediately after his passing, she assumed the presidency of the Paper Box Company, a position she held for nearly twenty years. Initially, it appears that she took on the presidency out of a sense of family obligation. But in short time she seemed to relish the opportunities such a position afforded her. Not only did she oversee the enormous factory that produced a significant per-

centage of the pill boxes used by the druggist trade in the United States, Canada, Mexico, and Cuba, but she also attended business meetings throughout the country. In October 1905, for example, she traveled to New York to attend a meeting of the Wholesale Druggists Association in the Hotel Astor (although a newspaper article assured Richmonders she would return in time for the annual UDC meeting).[29]

Possessing a deep-seated desire to improve society and not merely memorialize the Confederate past, she likewise committed herself to other avenues of social activism, including the Young Women's Christian Association, Virginia Home for the Incurables, and Virginia Bureau of Vocations for Women. Like millions of other American women, she joined and led civic organizations under the banner of a movement that came to be known as "municipal housekeeping." Randolph and other Progressive women throughout the nation justified their entry into public life as a necessary extension of their traditional childrearing and housekeeping duties into the wider community. As municipal housekeepers, middle- and upper-class women reformers like Randolph worked to alleviate the horrific conditions and suffering caused by urbanization and industrialization across the nation.

Randolph was particularly active in the campaign to create a coordinate college for women at the University of Virginia, repeatedly petitioning the legislature to pass such a bill. Taking their fight to the public in a letter printed by the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, Randolph and six other women pointed out that the state was graduating two girls for every boy from high school. While the commonwealth supported four institutions for the higher education of young men, there was no equivalent for young women. Thomas Jefferson had dreamed of a great public university serving the state, they pointed out. If he "could look out, over the State and see . . . eager faced young women mingling with their sturdy brothers [in high schools]—would he fail to hear the call of the people, and to understand the genius and sympathy of our university is great enough to train and shelter both Virginia's sons and daughters," they asked.[30] But most of the state's men denounced the plan, some proposing that a Confederate Memorial Woman's University at Lynchburg be established instead. Speaking on behalf of the UDC, Janet Randolph retorted that she thought "the university the best place for a memorial to the Confederate women." More pointedly, responding to Eppa Hunton Jr., son of a Confederate general, a former University of Virginia Board of Visitors member, and one of the most vocal opponents of the coordinate college, Randolph quipped that she saw "no reason why Janet Randolph III should not go to the University of Virginia as well as Eppa Hunton IV." Despite the women's earnest efforts, Hunton and his cohort prevailed. While the College of William and Mary began to admit women as undergraduates in 1918, Virginia did not establish a fully coeducational college until 1943 with the establishment of Mary Washington College.[31]

Like many other UDC women—and southern white women more generally—Randolph never embraced the progressive reform of suffrage and sought to preserve many of the values associated with the Confederacy, namely, white supremacy.[32] But her humanitarian efforts did extend across the color line of segregated Virginia. She volunteered for the Negro Community House and paid delinquent taxes for the Colored Children's Industrial Home. During the repeated floods along Shockoe Creek that enveloped the possessions of many families in mud and left countless others homeless, she went personally to the district helping those in distress find relief, clothing, and housing. She advocated on their behalf at city council meetings, repeatedly rising to tell the councilmen that the conditions were a disgrace to the city. (Eventually her efforts paid off and a storm drain was installed in Shockoe Bottom.)[33] It is imperative to remember, however, that her efforts on behalf of Richmond's black residents did not mean that she favored civil or political rights for African Americans. Indeed, much as slavery had been framed under the mantle of paternalism, her relief work should be seen as maternal—that of a devoted mother tending to her wanting children who would (of course) be grateful for her tender ministries. For her there was no paradox in promoting the Lost Cause while aiding the city's African American poor.

By the 1910s she had reached her sixties, a time when many women of her station would have been busy only with a few social clubs. But this was not the case for Randolph. Instead, she was acting as president of the box company, overseeing a household that included her thirty-two-year-old unemployed stepson and two daughters in their twenties who were likewise unemployed, serving as president of numerous organizations, and volunteering for even more. Much of her energy, however, remained focused on needy veterans and their widows. Following her husband's death, she had continued his work on behalf of the old soldiers supported by the Lee Camp.[34] She had long urged her chapter of the UDC to take care of the living as much as they commemorated the valor of the dead, but in 1910 she brought this message to the state and national association. That May, she founded relief work in the Virginia Division, and in October at the general convention in Little Rock she recommended the Daughters form a relief committee to investigate the needs of Confederate women. Given her notable leadership skills, it is hardly surprising that she was immediately named chair of the new committee denoted the Mrs. Norman V. Randolph Fund (a position she would hold until 1923). During the winter of 1912, she turned to Virginia's House Finance Committee, requesting an appropriation of $2,500 for the state's Confederate women who were neither pensioned nor inmates of the soldiers' home.[35] And even as her patriotic efforts drew her into volunteering for the Red Cross and promoting Liberty Bonds during the First World War, she beseeched the Daughters to contribute more funds to take care of Confederate widows. "Do not forget in your splendid work for your soldier boys and for the Veterans, those old women who did their part," she begged.[36]

Perhaps because she was busy with so many other activities, Randolph never published a memoir or book as did so many former Confederates. But she did begin giving lengthy interviews with popular magazines and recording her personal reminiscences in the early decades of the twentieth century. In 1914 the *Richmond Magazine* ran an interview with Randolph titled "Looking Backward One-Half Century." "Mrs. Norman V. Randolph needs no introduction to a Virginia public," the author declared. Instead, the interview launched into her reminiscences of life behind Yankee lines during the war—how as young girls she and her sister had baked homemade pies to sell to the northern troops and purposely "misdirected" Union general John Pope's army as it passed through Warrenton on its way to Richmond. Perhaps taking a cue from an even more famous Confederate widow, LaSalle Pickett, Randolph's recollection veered toward the imaginative.[37] In a tale that was almost certainly fabricated, she told how Lewis Powell (Payne), one of the Lincoln assassination conspirators, had stayed for a night in their home before heading to Washington to carry out his mission of attacking Secretary of State William H. Seward. Though she noted that they had not known his intentions when he left the next morning dressed in civilian clothes (rather than his uniform), she had often thought "it would have been as just for the United States to have hung her (mother) as an accomplice, as it was to have hung Mrs. Surratt."[38] She never repeated this account in any other public venue, and why she included this story remains unclear. Regardless of her motivations, Randolph found that the article allowed her simultaneously to relive some of the most exciting experiences of her life and to pass them on to future generations of white southerners.

Inspired by the interview, the following year she privately recorded her reminiscences of life at Cleiland before the war. In a handwritten statement, she recalled a joyful childhood with her sister and adventures with their tutor who hailed from Connecticut. But as with other white southerners during this period, she spent a great deal of her time recollecting the so-called faithful slaves who had served her family. In flowery and poetic prose, she recounted stories of several of the house slaves, paying special tribute to Aunt Lydia. "How I would like to be able to pay her the tribute she deserved, faithful unto death, devoted to my mother and father," she observed. When her father left for war, he had instructed Lydia to care for her mistress and her two young children, a task Randolph noted Lydia had loyally performed. "She devoted her life to his children and grandchildren, never leaving them, but when our home fell into the hands of the enemy and we would have starved she went to the headquarters of the United States troops & drew rations for herself & her children," Randolph wrote, adding that "she never had any children save us two."[39]

If her relief work on behalf of Richmond's African Americans set her apart from many other Confederate women, her fawning recollections of Aunt Lydia, the "faithful slave," placed her squarely in line with the Lost Cause of the early twentieth century. The *Confederate Veteran*, the principal periodical of Con-

federate organizations, was filled with tributes to the body servants whom it claimed had willingly assisted the Confederate war effort and featured special memorials for loving "mammies." The UDC was especially dedicated to perpetuating the faithful slave image, erecting the Heyward Shepherd memorial in Harpers Ferry and pushing for a monument to the "Faithful Colored Mammy of the Southland" in Washington, D.C.[40] Like the great majority of white southerners, Randolph understood southern society as one organized by a rigid racial hierarchy. Amid efforts by African Americans to secure the vote and civil rights through groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, white southerners commemorated former slaves who knew their place in society, did not question the authority of white men, and did not need segregated railroad coaches or streetcars to inform them that they were inferior in both mind and body. Women such as the idealized Aunt Lydia, white southerners like Randolph hoped, might provide a model for New South race relations. Without the bonds of slavery to structure relations between the races, white southerners believed that stories of faithful slaves, even aid to poor and destitute African Americans, complemented state-sanctioned segregation in the quest for racial order.[41]

Randolph's faithful slave recollections, relief efforts on behalf of Richmond's poor African Americans, business endeavors, and commitment to the Lost Cause all underscored the extent to which she occupied a pivotal place between the so-called southern lady of the Old South and the new woman of the New South. In her writings and UDC work, she embodied the image of the ideal southern lady—a figure charged with protecting the "traditional" southern values of virtue and morality and transmitting them to the next generation. Yet simultaneously she embraced many of the changes unleashed by the late nineteenth century, including women's access to higher education, their roles as wage earners, and their influence over society and even politics via reform movements. The ideals of the southern lady had been adapted by women at the turn of the century to expand their public roles and opportunities, and Randolph was no exception.[42]

To honor her ceaseless labor on behalf of the Lost Cause and countless other civic activities, in 1918 the UDC threw a great party inviting the entire city to celebrate Randolph's seventieth birthday. Marking the occasion, Douglass Southall Freeman of the *Richmond News Leader* observed that there was no one who loved Richmond more or was more beloved than Janet Randolph. Under the headline "Mother Richmond," he declared that "if she had been born a man he would have been a great jurist or a great advocate or a great politician." "For our part," he continued, "we have always felt that her service had a peculiar value, because, with all its vigor, all its force, and all its keen judgment, it was essentially the service of a woman." A man could not have motivated Richmond to provide better sanitary conditions in Shockoe Valley, he noted; likewise, could

a man "have won so distinct a place in the respectful affection of our Negro population?"[43] In his estimation, and doubtless that of many others, Randolph's gender had made her especially well suited for reform and relief efforts. But more importantly, his designation of her as a "mother" removed any political motivations or ulterior motives. As a maternal figure, she was simply caring for destitute black Richmonders, aging veterans, and their widows—all without challenging the social conventions of the day.

By 1925 city officials had eagerly embraced this maternal image of Randolph, selecting her to personify the spirit of Richmond in their Community Fund campaign. On billboards that lined the city streets and posters displayed prominently in store windows, she appeared in her widow's weeds, arms outstretched. Beneath her picture the caption read: "Mother Richmond asks how much you care?" beseeching residents to donate to the city's various charitable organizations. Indeed, Randolph proved to be more than the face of the Community Fund. According to her granddaughter, even at seventy-seven years old, "she worked terribly hard for the Community Fund," dedicated to relieving poverty and alleviating suffering for those less fortunate.[44] Clutching her cane as she climbed to the stage on the night the city celebrated the campaign's success, those in the audience noted that she appeared tired and feeble. But when she began to speak, "she shook off the years and the shadows." She spoke not as a Confederate that night, one attendee recalled, but as "deathless womanhood, eternal motherhood, appealing for the right of children to be born with clean blood and straight bodies, and to be reared in decency and health."[45] Perhaps the UDC's shift toward a more virulent white supremacy conflicted too sharply with her work on behalf of Richmond's African Americans.[46] More likely, Randolph's age prohibited her from being as active in the Daughters' activities as she had once been. Regardless of the reason, it became increasingly apparent that maternal caregiver, not a spokeswoman of the Lost Cause, had become her most important public image.

Even as she continued to work on behalf of the less fortunate in her home city, Randolph remained a committed advocate of the Lost Cause. She persisted as the chair of a committee that bore her name dedicated to needy Confederate women in the national UDC. She likewise lent her name to a Virginia Division scholarship established at the College of William and Mary in 1922 for women who were descendants of Confederate veterans (a scholarship that must have given her much pleasure as the college had opened its doors to women in 1918, even as the University of Virginia still refused to do so).[47] By 1923 she had become quite feeble, forced to walk with a cane and reside with her daughter Meta's family.[48] Nevertheless, that fall Randolph led the charge against a performance of John Drinkwater's play *Robert E. Lee*. As president of the Richmond UDC chapter and HMA, she called and presided over a meeting of all the city's Confederate veteran and memorial associations denouncing the play as histor-

ically inaccurate. "It gives to the world a false idea of the principles for which Southern people suffered and died, from the standpoint of history and education, and as a portrayal of the character of our Confederate leaders," she noted.[49] Even in her advancing years, she remained a tireless and outspoken defender of the cause that had shaped her at such a young age.

On October 28, 1927, Janet Randolph died at her daughter's Richmond residence. Her funeral proved a testament to her lifelong devotion to the Confederate cause. By her request, there were no flowers. Instead, the same Confederate flag used at the funerals of President Jefferson Davis, his wife and daughter, Confederate general and Virginia governor Fitzhugh Lee, and Randolph's husband adorned her casket—and was buried with her. The honorary pallbearers included notable Virginia and Richmond residents, among them Governor Harry Flood Byrd, Douglass Southall Freeman, and her former nemesis in the coordinate college debate, Eppa Hunton Jr. The middle aisle of the church had been reserved exclusively for members of the Richmond chapter of the UDC, CMLS, and HMA, while the Confederate flag flew at half-mast over the former White House of the Confederacy. And in full military honors, at Shockoe Cemetery a guard of honor from the Richmond Light Infantry Blues played "Taps." But her devotion to the Lost Cause was not her only service honored, nor was this a white-only affair: members of an African American church sang at the service while Maggie Lena Walker, a prominent black businesswoman, paid tribute to Randolph's efforts on behalf of the city's black community.[50]

While the UDC would long claim that her most important role was that of a Daughter, the numerous obituaries that paid tribute to her lifelong work suggested otherwise. "Her motherhood knew no bounds—of age or creed, of color or race," observed the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*. As a child she had nursed wounded and dying soldiers, weeping at their graves when they passed. As a mother to children and stepchildren, she had nurtured them and supported them well into their adulthood. As a reformer, she had cared for the "humble and unhappy, the fearful and oppressed," the obituary continued, "because of the motherhood which she verily personified." Even her devotion to the Lost Cause could best be understood through the prism of maternal love. Randolph's countless labors on its behalf "came from the remembering heart of a woman to whom the Confederacy was no more forgotten in its death than a son lost in battle can be lost to his mother's love." "She was the universal mother; mother of men and of women, of little children, of the very old, of the ill, of the forsaken, of the destitute, and of the downtrodden," the paper concluded.[51]

Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph may have been among the most prominent Daughters in the commonwealth and nation, but her role as a mother proved to be her most important legacy. Although like many reform-minded southern women she rejected women's suffrage, her roles as a businesswoman, civic leader, and social reformer working on behalf of women and the needy—

and African Americans in particular—revealed that she was far from the image of the Confederate belle embraced and supported by so many Lost Cause proponents. Framing her efforts as the benevolent ministries of a devoted mother, she engaged in activities far beyond what was expected among southern white women who had come of age during the Civil War.

NOTES

1. Douglas S. Freeman, "Mrs. Norman Randolph Remembered," *Richmond Quarterly* 7 (Summer 1928): 47.

2. Janet Randolph, "Reminiscences of Farm Life in Old Virginia," Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia (hereafter MOC). The 1850 census lists Richard Weaver as owning only four slaves and $15,000 in personal property, which may be a mistake, or perhaps the slaves were owned by his father-in-law, Inman Horner. According to the 1850 census, Horner owned forty-nine slaves (available on Ancestry.com).

3. "Reminiscences of War," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, April 27, 1924; U.S. Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles, Ancestry.com. Inman Horner had died in 1860.

4. "Reminiscences of War," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, April 27, 1924; typescript of radio broadcast by Janet Randolph Turpin Ayers, April 29, 1938, *Dictionary of Virginia Biography* research files, Library of Virginia, Richmond (hereafter LVA); John A. C. Keith, "The Home Front," in Emily G. Ramey et al., eds., *The Years of Anguish: Fauquier Country, Virginia, 1861–1865* (Warrenton, Va.: Fauquier Democrat, 1965), 52–53; U.S. Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles; Mrs. J. S. Kennedy to Janet Cleiland Weaver, August 28, 1861, Randolph Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society (hereafter VHS).

5. "Reminiscences of War"; U.S. Civil War Soldier Records and Profiles; Janet Randolph Turpin Ayers, interview by Sandra Gioia Treadway, Richmond, September 28, 1989, typescript in *Dictionary of Virginia Biography* research files, LVA; Nell R. Lee Murphy, "Looking Backward One-Half Century," *Richmond Magazine*, 1914, 9.

6. "James K. P. Harris of the Fifth Texas Infantry," *Confederate Veteran,* September 1905, 400; "Reminiscences of War."

7. Janet H. Weaver to Miss Jenkins, July 12, 1865, Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph Papers (hereafter JHWR Papers), MOC.

8. 1870 census. Five members of the household were listed as "M" for "mulatto." Their ages ranged from nine to seventy. At some point around 1867, Janet was engaged to Lieutenant W. B. "Ben" Palmer, but for unknown reasons she broke off the engagement (John Coski, "Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph," unpublished article, MOC). Weaver's decision to postpone marriage until she was thirty-two was not unusual for southern white women of her class and age. As historian Victoria E. Ott notes, "Those young women born between 1846 and 1849 were at the height of their courtship opportunities [during the war] and thus were willing to wait to marry." See Ott, *Confederate Daughters: Coming of Age during the Civil War* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2008), 121–24, quotation on 124. Moreover, financial and demographic changes wrought by the war often necessitated delaying marriage. For an extended discussion of postwar southern white women's marriage patterns, see also Jane Turner Censer, *The Reconstruction of White Southern Womanhood* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), 32–41.

9. In 1861 Randolph enlisted in the Twenty-Fourth Battalion Virginia Cavalry at the age of fifteen and transferred to Mosby's Rangers, Forty-Third Battalion, when it was formed in 1863 (Coski, "Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph"). He had married Louisa Whelan Reed of Baltimore in 1873, daughter of William B. Reed, who had served as volunteer counsel for Jefferson Davis while he was imprisoned at Fort Monroe. Louisa died in March 1877 (*Milwaukee Journal*, April 7, 1899).

10. *George Archer I of the Umberslade Archers of Henrico County, Virginia and His Descendants* (Provo, Utah: Generations Network, 2004), accessed through Ancestry.com; 1880 and 1910 U.S. Census; Coski, "Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph."

11. In 1886 Janet's sister Meta Weaver Lee died, leaving three children. Julia eventually came to live with her aunt. Janet Randolph Turpin Ayers interview, September 28, 1989; Caroline E. Janney, *Burying the Dead but Not the Past: Ladies Memorial Associations and the Lost Cause* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), chap. 4.

12. R. E. Lee Camp Minutes, April 3 and 27, 1883, November 12, 1886, and November 23, 1894, VHS; Coski, "Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph." In 1888 Virginia granted the first pensions to veterans and their widows. The Lee Camp, organized prior to the state's support, believed one of its priorities should be to improve the living conditions of the aging and often disabled soldiers by establishing of a home for Confederate veterans.

13. Hollywood Memorial Association (hereafter HMA) Minutes, November 30, 1892, MOC; R. E. Lee Camp Minutes, February 2, 1893, VHS; HMA Minutes, March 20, 1894, MOC. The HMA formed the CMLS to preserve the White House of the Confederacy, also known as the Confederate Museum, in 1890. See Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 160–99.

14. Women had tried to form the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Lee Camp in 1886 and again in 1889, but it was not until the early 1890s that the effort gained any traction. Ladies Auxiliary Corps Records, January 3, March 7, and November 1894, VHS; Report of Mrs. I. W. White (probably c. 1905), Ladies Auxiliary Corps Reports, R. E. Lee Camp Papers, MOC.

15. Richmond Chapter UDC Minutes, Box 0–7, MOC. Coski points out that the UDC appears to have been the most important organization to her, as her tombstone at Shockoe Cemetery reads "Founder of the Richmond Chapter / UDC 1896 / And its president / Until Her Death." There is no mention of the HMA or the CMLS. Although she was asked several times to consider the presidency of the Virginia Division or the position of president-general of the General Convention, she never served as either (though she was named as honorary president of both). Coski, "Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph."

16. Karen L. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 16–29, quotation on 24; Mary Poppenheim et al., *The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (1938; reprint, Raleigh, N.C.: Edwards & Broughton, 1955), 8; Wallace Evan Davies, *Patriotism on Parade: The Story of Veterans' and Hereditary Organizations in America, 1783–1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955), 40–41; "Daughters of the Confederacy," *Confederate Veteran*, January 1897, 34; "United Daughters Reunion," *Confederate Veteran*, October 1897, 499; Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 172.

17. *New York Times*, December 14, 1895; Ladies Auxiliary Corps Records, February 1896, VHS; R. E. Lee Camp Minutes, March 6, 1896, VHS; *Richmond Dispatch*, February 12, 1896; Grand Division of Virginia Minutes, February 12, 1896, MOC.

18. Richmond UDC Minutes, Box 0–7, 1901 Annual Report, January 18, 1902, MOC; Coski, "Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph."

19. *Richmond Dispatch*, October 1, 1898; "Caring for Confederate Graves North," *Confederate Veteran*, June 1899, 279. For more on the Battle Abbey dispute, see Janney, *Burying the Dead*, 190–93.

20. *New York Times*, December 15, 1898. During the war 136 Confederates had been buried at Arlington. Another 128 had been buried at the Soldiers' Home Cemetery. These 264 soldiers comprised the initial interments in the new Confederate section, of which not all white southerners approved. William A. Blair, *Cities of the Dead: Contesting the Memory of the Civil War in the South, 1865–1914* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 174–79, 187–93; Michelle A. Krowl, "'In the Spirit of Fraternity: The United States Government and the Burial of the Confederate Dead at

Arlington National Cemetery, 1864–1914," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 111, no. 2 (2003): 151–86.

21. Only a month after McKinley's announcement, Randolph and a Mrs. Lyon of the HMA agreed to organize a mass meeting opposing the suggestion. (HMA Minutes, January 19, 1899, MOC); *Richmond Dispatch*, June 1 and 7, 1900. See also Blair, *Cities of the Dead*, 188–89; *Richmond Times*, August 26, 1900.

22. Quoted in John R. Neff, *Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005), 226.

23. *Richmond Dispatch*, October 24, 1900; Blair, *Cities of the Dead*, 174–79, 187–93; Krowl, "Spirit of Fraternity." The UDC would not be content with the mere reburial of Confederates in a cemetery once reserved exclusively for loyal Union soldiers. Instead, the Daughters pressed their demand for a monument to the Confederate dead, a request granted by then Secretary of War William Howard Taft in 1906. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 53–56, 68–71, 146–47; Cecelia Elizabeth O'Leary, *To Die For: The Paradox of American Patriotism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), 146.

24. HMA Jr. Records, May 1899 annual meeting, MOC; Grand Division of Virginia UDC Minutes, Third Annual Convention, October 12–13, 1898, MOC; *Richmond Dispatch*, January 19, 1901; Ladies Auxiliary Corps Records, 1901, VHS; *Richmond Dispatch*, January 19, 1901. For more on the Juniors, see Janney, *Burying the Dead*, chap. 5. Randolph was nominated for president of the Grand Division in October 1898 but declined. Her term as president of the HMA Juniors ended in 1901 when she "begged" not to be nominated (HMA Jr. Records, May 7, 1901, MOC).

25. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 52, 59–60; "The Jefferson Davis Memorial," *Confederate Veteran*, May 1900, 209; JHWR Papers, MOC; *Richmond Dispatch*, January 19, 1901. "The Jefferson Davis Monument," *Confederate Veteran*, March 1902, 133; Coski, "Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph."

26. Report on the Jefferson Davis Monument Association by Janet Randolph, 1902, Grand Division of Virginia UDC Minutes, MOC; *Alexandria Gazette*, March 14, 1903; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, March 15, 1903.

27. Janet Randolph Turpin Ayers interview, September 28, 1989; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, April 2, 1903.

28. Bazaar Records, 1903 Bazaar Circular, MOC ; Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 59; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, June 16, 1905; *Daily Ardmoreite* (Ardmore, Oklahoma), June 3, 1907.

29. *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, October 1, 1905, July 21, 1912. Randolph was featured in the 1912 paper in an article titled "Women Builders of Big Richmond." When Norman Randolph returned to Richmond after the war, he had joined his father in selling books and stationary. In 1877 he began the box-making business.

30. This effort was led by Mary-Cooke Branch Munford under the Co-Ordinate College League. The women were pushing for a coordinate college, not coeducation—that is, the women and men would share access to the buildings and services such as the library, but the undergraduate education of the two sexes would remain separate. See https://explore.lib.virginia.edu/exhibits/show/uvawomen/coordinatecollege (accessed August 31, 2015); quotation in *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, January 21, 1912.

31. *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, January 24, 1912; Janet Randolph Turpin Ayers interview, September 28, 1989. Janet III was only three months old at the time. She later recalled that her grandmother had "very advanced ideas about women." The committee brought the bill before the legislature five times, only to be defeated each time. In 1920 the University of Virginia's Board of Visitors voted to allow women to attend the graduate and professional schools. It was not until the fall of 1970 that undergraduate women would be admitted to UVA in the College of Arts and Sciences.

32. On women in the Progressive Era South, see, for example, Glenda E. Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896–1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Anastatia Sims, *The Power of Femininity in the New South:*

Women's Organizations and Politics in North Carolina, 1880–1930 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997). On the UDC and suffrage, see Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 40–41.

33. Coski, "Janet Henderson Weaver Randolph"; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, May 19, 1910, October 29, 1927; *Richmond News Leader*, October 29, 1927; Virginia Division, *Minutes of the Thirty-Third Annual Convention*, 1928, MOC, 58–60; Janet Randolph Turpin Ayers interview, September 28, 1989; T. Jordan Leake to Mrs. Norman V. Randolph, May 20, 1915, Richmond Chapter UDC Records, Box 15, MOC.

34. U.S. Census 1910; *Daily Press* (Newport News), May 29, 1906.

35. Brent Witt, "Toilers in the Sun: Richmond's Wonderful Women," *Everywoman's Magazine*, November 1917, 65; typescript of radio broadcast by Janet Randolph Turpin Ayers, April 29, 1938, *Dictionary of Virginia Biography* research files, LVA; Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 80–82; Poppenheim et al., *History of the* UDC, 199; Sandra Gioia Treadway, *Women of Mark: A History of the Woman's Club of Richmond, Virginia, 1894–1994* (Richmond: Library of Virginia, 1995), 55. As of 2015 the Mrs. Norman V. Randolph Fund is still given each year by state divisions of the UDC. See *http://www.abnerbaker1404.com/mrs-norman-v-randolph-relief-fund-recipient.html (accessed August 31, 2015).*

36. UDC, *Minutes of the 24th Annual Meeting*, 1918, 240, MOC.

37. For more on LaSalle Pickett's imaginative recreations of the Confederate past, especially the accomplishments of her husband, General George E. Pickett, see Lesley J. Gordon, *General George E. Pickett in Life and Legend* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Lesley J. Gordon, "'Let the People See the Old Life as It Was': LaSalle Corbell Pickett and the Myth of the Lost Cause," in Gary W. Gallagher and Alan T. Nolan, eds., *The Myth of the Lost Cause and Civil War History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 179; and Caroline E. Janney, "'One of the Best Loved, North and South': The Appropriation of National Reconciliation by LaSalle Corbell Pickett," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 116 (2008): 370–406.

38. In fact, Randolph misstates Seward's name, referring to him as "Sewell." Murphy, "Looking Backward One-Half Century," 9, 18. In 1924 the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* ran a feature story on Randolph describing her as the "best-known, best-loved woman in the State." *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, April 27, 1924.

39. Randolph, "Reminiscences of Farm Life in Old Virginia," MOC. Depictions of the faithful slave were omnipresent in the New South. For more on this, see Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890–1940* (New York: Pantheon, 1998), 51–74, 98–115; Karen Cox, *Dreaming of Dixie: How the South Was Created in American Popular Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 34–57; Micki McElya, *Clinging to Mammy: The Faithful Slave in Twentieth-Century America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007); David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), 286.

40. The UDC had first considered a national monument to faithful slaves in 1904. Renewed calls for a memorial surfaced in 1920. A memorial was finally dedicated in October 1931 at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. Caroline E. Janney, "Written in Stone: Gender, Race, and the Heyward Shepherd Memorial," *Civil War History* 52 (June 2006): 117–41. For an excellent account of the mammy memorial debate, see McElya, *Clinging to Mammy*, 140– 234.

41. Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 60–70; Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy*, 140. There is no indication as to how Randolph felt about extralegal methods of enforcing the color line such as lynching.

42. Cox, *Dixie's Daughters*, 41; Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 4–7; Sims, *Power of Femininity*.

43. Reprinted in *Richmond News Leader*, October 28, 1927.

44. Freeman, "Mrs. Norman Randolph Remembered," *Richmond Quarterly*, Summer 1984, 47; Janet Randolph Turpin Ayers interview, September 28, 1989. The Community Fund is now the United Way Services. See http://urbanleaguerichmond.org/?page=4 (accessed November 7, 2012).

45. Virginia Division UDC, *Minutes of the Thirty-Third Annual Convention*, 1928, 59, MOC. This appeared in a memorial to Randolph written by Ann Norvell Otey Scott.

46. By the 1920s and 1930s the UDC was expressing a more virulent white supremacy to advocate the Lost Cause. Increasingly, the Daughters turned to images of Reconstruction, specifically tales of black men raping white women, to advance their cause. This was most pronounced in efforts to erect a monument to "Mammy" in Washington, D.C., efforts to erect a so-called faithful slave monument at Harpers Ferry, and, by the 1930s, the UDC's concerted effort to prevent a peace monument that would honor both Grant and Lee at Appomattox Court House. McElya, *Clinging to Mammy*, 140–59, 176–85; Janney, "Written in Stone"; Caroline E. Janney, *Remembering the Civil War: Reunion and the Limits of Reconciliation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

47. UDC, *Minutes of the 25th Annual Meeting*, 1919, 4, MOC; *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, October 29, 1927. The scholarship is still given today at William and Mary.

48. 1920 U.S. Census; Janet Randolph Turpin Ayers interview, September 28, 1989.

49. *New York Times*, November 7, 1923. Randolph had been elected president of the HMA in May 1918. A motion noted that she had been the longtime president of the HMA Juniors, and as the two organizations were merging, it seemed only appropriate that she be elected the new HMA president. HMA Minutes, May 3, 1918, MOC. Beyond the statement printed in the *New York Times*, Randolph did not indicate precisely why she opposed Drinkwater's play. It is possible, however, that she and other Confederate memorialists took issue with his portrayal of Lee as a reluctant Confederate. In the opening scene, for example, Lee notes, "I am opposed to secession on principle. More, I do not think the issue upon which it is proposed a sufficient one." John Drinkwater, *Robert E. Lee: A Play* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1923), 10.

50. *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, October 29 and 30, 1927; *New York Times*, October 31, 1927; Janet Randolph Turpin Ayers interview, September 28, 1989. Walker was from Jackson Ward in Richmond and the first female bank president in the United States.

51. *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, October 29, 1927.

Orra Gray Langhorne

A Voice for Reform in Postbellum Virginia

ANTOINETTE G. VAN ZELM

❀ ❀ ❀

Writer and reformer Orra Henderson Moore Gray Langhorne tirelessly championed women's suffrage and black rights in postbellum Virginia. Born to privilege, she took a different path than most elite white southern women after the Civil War. Dedicated to the principle of equal rights and unfailingly optimistic, Langhorne used her voice and her pen to advocate a range of reforms regionally and nationally. Most radically, she celebrated both emancipation and postwar progress by African Americans. Yet it would be a mistake to view her simply as an iconoclast. Although progressive in thought and an active promoter of the New South, Langhorne also held onto some of the paternalistic values of the past and exhibited a traditional romanticism for Old Virginia. Despite her remarkable willingness to treat African Americans as people, she also demonstrated a clear preference for educated and successful black Virginians; in her assessments of poor African Americans, she was not immune to the virulent racism of the turn of the twentieth century. Langhorne's significance lies not just in her forward-thinking stance on the issues of the day but also in her desire and ability to convey her ideas to a wide audience both within and beyond Virginia.

Best known for her monthly columns in the *Southern Workman*, which was published by Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Langhorne has been accurately described as a "lifelong liberal who crusaded for equal opportunity for all."[1] She also gained regional and national attention for her support for women's suffrage. Within Virginia's suffrage movement, Langhorne was a pioneering, and often solitary, figure in an effort that took many years to become firmly established.[2]

Langhorne's reform impulse went hand in hand with an intellectual curiosity that had roots in her upbringing. Born March 8, 1841, outside of Harrison-

burg in Rockingham County, Langhorne was the third of the five children of Algernon S. Gray and Annie Henderson Gray. She was named after her maternal grandmother, Orra Moore Henderson, and raised in the Episcopal faith of the Henderson family. After Annie Gray died in childbirth in 1852, Langhorne and two of her sisters lived nearby with their paternal uncle, Douglas Gray, his three children, and his mother-in-law, Elizabeth Pinkney Williams. Both Gray and Williams loved books and inculcated a passion for reading in Langhorne and her siblings.[3]

At both her father's and her uncle's homes, Langhorne enjoyed the benefits of a privileged upbringing. Her grandfather, Robert Gray, had emigrated from Ireland as a child with his family and became a prominent lawyer and landowner in Rockingham County; at his death in 1859, he was the wealthiest person in the county. Langhorne's father, Algernon Gray, practiced law, owned land, and served as a colonel in the local militia. House slaves and governesses helped raise Langhorne and her siblings.[4]

In 1855 Langhorne began her formal studies in Roanoke at Hollins Institute, a school for young women that emphasized rigorous academics. She took classes in Latin, chemistry, algebra, and drawing and graduated with a certificate in French. While at Hollins, Langhorne taught Sunday school to some of the school's enslaved workers. Langhorne demonstrated a lifelong interest in learning and as late as 1897 took classes at Randolph-Macon Woman's College.[5]

The Civil War changed Langhorne's life dramatically. At Virginia's secession convention in April 1861, her father represented Rockingham County as a Unionist. While he spoke forthrightly against secession at the convention, during the war he supported Confederate soldiers and their families.[6] Langhorne later described her father as a mediator, a Unionist who had friends among Confederates. She apparently followed his lead. Described by her niece as "a staunch Union sympathizer," Langhorne tended to the wounded from both sides at makeshift hospitals in Harrisonburg following the battles of Cross Keys (June 8, 1862), Port Republic (June 9, 1862), and New Market (May 14, 1864), as well as numerous smaller skirmishes. She later recalled visiting the hospitals on a daily basis and wrote, "Like most women at that time I was deeply interested in hospital work, and from the beginning to the end of the war devoted much of my time to our suffering countrymen." Langhorne's postwar writings emphasized her assistance to Confederate soldiers. In an article in the Charleston, South Carolina, *Weekly News and Courier* that was later included in its anthology *"Our Women in the War"* (1885), she melodramatically recounted the deaths of two Confederate soldiers for whom she had cared. In contrast, Langhorne commented negatively on the German soldiers who served in Union general John C. Frémont's division, although she was not completely unsympathetic toward them.[7]

Algernon Gray's Unionism, along with his defense of the right of local Dunkers and Mennonites to stay out of the war and remain true to their paci-

Literature Among the Colored People.

BY ORRA LANGHORNE.

For some years past a modest little paper, neat in appearance and lively in contents, has come to me weekly from Washington City, bearing the name of "The People's Advocate,

The Advocate is edited by I. W. Cromwell, who was educated in Philadelphia, but lived in the South as a school teacher for some years after the war.

Recently Mr. Cromwell sent me a strikingly interesting sketch of the Rev. H. H. Garnet, written by Dr. Crummell, the intelligent and accomplished colored United States Minister to Liberia, whose great desire it was to behold the land whence his forefathers had been carried away captive, and who died on African soil after a short residence there. About the same time, a volume of sermons by Dr. Crummell reached me. These sermons are written in excellent style and are instructive and interesting. I should advise all colored people able to buy books to procure a copy of Dr. Crummell's sermons, and would especially commend to careful attention those on "The Family and Marriage."

Then a remarkable production came into my hands from Mr. Cromwell. This was the bound volume of the "Anglo-African Magazine" published in monthly numbers in 1857. The list of contributors contains some names which of late years have attained wide celebrity, among them that of Hon. John M. Langston, now American Minister to Hayti.

A full account of the trial of John Brown is printed in the last number, carefully compiled from the Court records and the newspaper reports. There are various essays, sketches and poems, and a serial of marked ability runs through several numbers.

SOUTHERN WORKMAN COLUMN

Orra Langhorne wrote regularly for the *Southern Workman* between 1880 and 1901. This column appeared in the May 1883 issue.

SUFFRAGE CONVENTION PROGRAM

This suffrage convention program lists Orra Langhorne as the president of the Virginia auxiliary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Miller NAWSA Scrapbook Collection.

fist beliefs, ultimately left Orra in charge of the Gray household. Like his father before him, Algernon Gray served as a legal adviser to the Dunkers, and during the war he interceded on their behalf with the Confederate government in Richmond. The Dunkers in turn warned Gray when they heard rumors of impending violence against Union men. Such threats prompted Algernon Gray to relocate to Baltimore in the summer of 1864. Langhorne later wrote an essay for *New England Magazine* about Johnny Kline, one of her father's Dunker friends, and his death at the hands of irregular soldiers during the war. Gray's Unionism no doubt facilitated his postwar appointment as a U.S. marshal for the Western District of Virginia.[8]

Before he temporarily relocated in Maryland, Algernon Gray emancipated many of his slaves and sent them to Ohio. Gray apparently had long held misgivings about slavery but had remained a slaveholder for many years. Langhorne's sister, Henrietta Daingerfield, briefly referred to her father's decision to free his slaves in her semiautobiographical collection *Our Mammy and Other Stories* (1906) and suggested that her father did not act from altruism alone. She placed his action in the context of a neighbor's similar decision to let her slaves leave because she could no longer care for all of them. Daingerfield provided further insight into her father's stance on slavery and freedom in the story "Uncle Levi's Free Papers." In the wartime story, an elderly slave named Levi asks his master, Algernon, to free him in case he dies before emancipation comes. His master gives Levi his free papers and says, "I wish to God I could give you a dollar a day for the last forty years, but you know this war that will give you all freedom, has ruined us, and when it is over, some way we must work together." Although a fictionalized account about Gray created by his daughter, the passage reflects sentiments later evident in Orra Langhorne's writings, including gratitude for the service of enslaved workers, a sense of loss at the reversal of fortune for slaveholders, and a dedication to interracial cooperation.[9]

With the departure of her father and many of the family's slaves, Langhorne, like many other white women during the Civil War, took on additional responsibilities. Late in March 1865 she wrote to a relative about her frustrating efforts to plant a garden and raise poultry. (In her postwar writings, Langhorne asserted that one of the benefits of the abolition of slavery was that young white women learned to become more resourceful around the house than their female ancestors had been.) In addition to the challenges of running a household with fewer resources than before the war, Langhorne and her family had to be wary of the irregular soldiers who committed acts of violence throughout the Shenandoah Valley toward war's end.[10]

Six years after the end of the war, Orra Gray married Thomas Langhorne of Lynchburg on October 17, 1871. Thomas was blind, so Orra became an active partner in his businesses. The couple ran a general store and rented out cottages nearby; most of their tenants were African Americans. The Langhornes

lived on the same land where the store and cottages were located. One of Orra's responsibilities was to inspect tenants' houses and fence rails to be sure they were in good repair. In her writings, she presented relations between the Langhornes and their tenants as cordial: "On occasions of a wedding party in any of the houses we both receive a formal invitation, and if it is not accepted portions of the refreshments are always sent us," she wrote in 1881. The couple employed household workers and a gardener. The Langhornes did not have any children, but Orra developed close relationships with her sisters' children, particularly her five nieces, with whom she often shared her progressive views. After Thomas Langhorne died in 1889, Orra lived at least part of the time with her sister Henrietta and her family, first in Culpeper and then in Lexington, Kentucky. Langhorne, who frequently emphasized regional differences within Virginia, apparently always felt like an outsider in Lynchburg.[11]

By at least 1879, Langhorne had begun to promote the causes she would espouse over the next twenty-five years of her life: national reconciliation in the aftermath of the Civil War, education reform, women's suffrage, African American advancement, and revitalization of Virginia's economy, particularly in the Shenandoah Valley. Although a petite woman with a soft voice, Langhorne did not shy from public speaking. Her favored method of promoting reform, however, was through the written word. She published widely in newspapers and beginning in July 1880 wrote a regular column for the *Southern Workman*, later known as the *Southern Workman and Hampton School Record*. She was also involved in various professional organizations for female journalists. She belonged to the Woman's National Press Association, which began in 1881 in Washington, D.C. In 1895 she was elected vice president for Virginia of the National Woman's Press Association, which had been founded in New Orleans ten years earlier. Langhorne also dabbled in fiction and in 1890 published *Aunt Pokey's Son: A Story of the New South*, which the *Richmond Planet*, Virginia's influential African American newspaper, compared favorably to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Just fifteen pages long, *Aunt Pokey's Son* tells the incongruous story of a college-educated African American who in the 1870s becomes the manager of the plantation where he had once been enslaved. Langhorne's story was one of the few works by a Virginia woman donated to the library of the Woman's Building at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893.[12]

As a writer with national connections, Langhorne viewed herself as a spokesperson for the South broadly and for Virginia in particular. Although by no means obsessed with the Civil War and Confederate defeat in the manner of some of her contemporaries, Langhorne nonetheless sought to make sense of the war and its aftermath. Through her writings in both regional and national publications, she promoted reconciliation between the North and the South, as well as racial reconciliation within the South. While not a prototypical Lost Cause writer who yearned for a return to the Old South, Langhorne was not

immune to romanticizing the pre–Civil War era, a tendency that at times contradicted her clear support for emancipation and the abolition of slavery.[13]

Langhorne did not doubt that slavery and emancipation were the key cause and consequence, respectively, of the Civil War. In 1883 she described the conflict as "the war for [the oppressed race's] emancipation." She dedicated herself to chronicling the progress made by former slaves in the aftermath of emancipation. She acknowledged that the transition from slavery to freedom had resulted in tensions between the races and sections in Virginia but believed that these difficulties had abated by the 1880s: "The Civil War seems almost forgotten and the bitterness which was the natural result of such a revolution, has softened into a far nobler sentiment of regret for the sacrifice of so many lives of those who should have been friends instead of enemies." Langhorne also portrayed the stresses of emancipation as character building for women of both races, who had been particularly affected by the challenges inherent in the transition from slavery to freedom. In an 1884 letter to suffragist Susan B. Anthony, she wrote, "The great change in our social system since the emancipation has borne very hard upon the Southern women of both races, but with both it has been the means of developing many admirable traits." Langhorne also believed that slavery could have been abolished without civil war had free and honest discussion been allowed in the antebellum South.[14]

In her effort to promote national reconciliation, Langhorne highlighted instances of wartime cooperation and compassion. She told Anthony, "The care of the sick and wounded of both armies often fell upon the women of the land, and I knew of many cases where equal kindness was shown to friend and foe." According to Langhorne, when Union soldiers and Confederate prisoners shared a makeshift hospital in the Shenandoah Valley, the men "usually forgot all about national grievances, or having made friends themselves amicably discussed the causes of the war and its probable results." In 1889 Langhorne used an example of wartime benevolence demonstrated by Union soldiers to urge northern women to reconsider their opposition to northern assistance to Confederate veterans. In a letter to the *Boston Transcript*, she recalled how wounded Federal soldiers had inquired after an ill Confederate officer who was recuperating at her house; on the death of the lieutenant, a marble cutter turned Union soldier carved a grave marker for the deceased Confederate. Langhorne implored, "'Cannot the noble women of Boston, who did so much to aid our beloved country in her hour of need, find some pity in their hearts for those who have suffered so severely for the cause which they were taught to believe was right?'" To promote reconciliation, Langhorne emphasized postwar forgiveness by former Unionists and loyalty to the United States by former Confederates. These were the themes of her essay about the Dunker preacher Johnny Kline, a Shenandoah Valley Unionist killed by Confederate irregulars. She related how the Dunkers forgave Kline's surviving murderer, as did a former Unionist (likely her father) who employed the accused man as a deputy marshal.[15]

Without doubt, in her writings promoting postwar reconciliation, Langhorne made use of some of the standard stereotypes that were the stock-in-trade of the Lost Cause. Even as Langhorne acknowledged that black southerners had been oppressed as slaves, she depicted them as faithful to their owners during the war. To Susan B. Anthony, Langhorne somewhat graphically described an attempted murder of an overseer by his slaves during the war, an instance of violence that was quickly snuffed out by a young planter woman who commanded the love and respect of the slaves. In Langhorne's view, "the negroes of the South, with unfailing devotion, protected their masters' families from the Potomac to the Rio Grande." In addition, while Langhorne claimed that women of both races had borne heavy burdens as a result of emancipation, she reserved particular praise for the adaptation of elite white women to a world without slavery: "No class has shown more fortitude in submission to the reverses of fortune, and none more perseverance and energy in the effort at recuperation that has restored our people to comparative prosperity, than the daughters of the Old Dominion." Langhorne also occasionally indulged in glorification of the Confederacy and the men who had fought for it, depicting Confederate officers and soldiers as "gallant" and "true-hearted" men who had fought "for the cause they believed to be right." In Langhorne's view, which was a standard theme among southern writers who promoted the reconciliation of the North and South, Confederate soldiers had simply been misguided and should be honored for their devoted service and bravery.[16]

Along with national reconciliation, Langhorne endorsed education reform. In the wake of emancipation, she advocated education for former slaves, as well as for poor white children, and supported the establishment of public schools in Virginia. Langhorne also favored the development of a national school system. Writing from Lynchburg in 1879, she promoted this idea in the *People's Advocate*, an African American newspaper published in Washington, D.C. In the piece Langhorne bemoaned the widespread illiteracy in the South and the lack of attention to this issue by the region's statesmen. She pointedly criticized elected leaders, asking, "Southern Congressmen are always holding forth about their down-trodden section, but what have any of them done to improve the condition of their people?" Langhorne urged African American senator Blanche K. Bruce of Mississippi, a native of Farmville, Virginia, to take up in Congress the issue of a national school system. Langhorne believed that Bruce was the one southern legislator who might promote universal education, and she felt that it would be a great achievement for him as a black leader.[17]

While she advocated stronger schools, Langhorne also praised the existence of public schools in Virginia as a long-needed improvement and noted that white women and black Virginians of both sexes had benefited. She was a particularly vocal advocate for better educational opportunities for women. "Until the public schools were opened, not a dollar had ever been given by the state for the education of women," Langhorne pointed out in 1890. Her uncle, Dr. Wil-

liam H. Ruffner, served as state superintendent of public instruction from 1870 to 1882. He then became president of the first state-supported normal school for women, located in Farmville. Langhorne described the school in 1884 as "the first distinct effort to improve the condition of Virginia women made by our legislature." She was also supportive of the normal school established for African Americans in Staunton and met with Frank Trigg, its superintendent, in 1888 to get an update on how the school was progressing. It continued to bother Langhorne, however, that if white women or African Americans of either sex wanted to pursue a university education, they had to leave the state. After attending the commencement exercises at the University of Virginia in June 1888, Langhorne was critical of the fact that not all of the state's citizens had access to the publicly funded school.[18]

Given that Langhorne served as a columnist for Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute's *Southern Workman*, it is not surprising that she supported industrial education for African Americans, although she did not rule out higher education for them, as some proponents of industrial education did. (Indeed, the title character of *Aunt Pokey's Son* was educated at Dartmouth College.) At the turn of the twentieth century, Langhorne expressed pride that "the noble work begun by General Armstrong at Hampton" was becoming "the model lesson of the South." At about the same time, Langhorne attended conferences that focused on African American education in the South, with an emphasis on industrial training. At the second annual Negro Conference held at Hampton in July 1898, Langhorne participated in a women's session that focused on the different types of employment available to women in urban and rural areas. One of the speakers was the Baltimore-born poet, novelist, and race woman Frances Ellen Watkins Harper. In 1899 Langhorne was urged by Dr. Hollis B. Frissell, the president of Hampton Institute, to attend the second Capon Springs Conference in West Virginia. Frissell wanted Langhorne to share her ideas about industrial education and reform work, and she agreed to do so.[19]

Both Frissell and Langhorne believed that it was important to promote more industrial training in the public schools. In an article in the *Virginia School Journal* written at the turn of the century, Langhorne predicted that sewing schools would soon be incorporated into public school systems "as part of the latest idea for development of character in the thorough training of hand and head." She also promoted the idea of schools for instruction in the domestic arts, an effort that she believed would cultivate better household servants among lower-class African Americans. In a paper presented at the American Social Science Association meeting in Washington, D.C., in 1901, Langhorne argued, "The only hope for a better state of affairs in our relations with the colored people, who are such an important element among us, is in the establishment of schools for instruction in domestic arts." While Langhorne commended the teacher-training work of Hampton, Tuskegee Institute, the Manassas Colored Industrial School,

and the Manual Training School of Saint Paul's in Lawrenceville, Virginia, she believed that additional instruction was needed for young people and suggested that communities establish free schools to train girls and boys in cooking and housework. Langhorne predicted that the development of such schools would usher in other reforms, such as standardized work hours among domestic servants and the founding of day cares and kindergartens for women who worked outside of the home.[20]

Among the progressive reforms embraced by Langhorne, women's suffrage figured prominently. Langhorne's longtime support for women's rights had roots in her Christian beliefs; she once described the emancipation of women as a "gospel taught by Christ . . . but rarely expounded by his disciples" in Virginia. She dated her support for women's suffrage to 1871, when she received a copy of the *Woman's Journal*, the weekly publication of the American Woman Suffrage Association, from reformer Amasa Walker of Massachusetts. Langhorne believed that women should have the ballot so that they could protect themselves and their property, assist the disadvantaged, and work with men for the betterment of humankind. Perhaps not surprisingly, given her concern for the progress of African Americans, Langhorne apparently did not argue in favor of white women's suffrage by denigrating black male voters. (Leaders of the revived Virginia suffrage movement of the 1910s did not emphasize race, either, in contrast to white suffragists in some other southern states.)[21]

Langhorne sought to influence the state and federal politicians who had the power to grant women suffrage. At least twice, she petitioned the state legislature for the right to vote. The 1879–80 *Journal of the House of Delegates* published her petition in favor of women's suffrage and equal rights. In 1894, after securing many signatures, Langhorne again petitioned the legislature for equal rights, including the right to vote. Two years later, she testified in favor of women's suffrage at a U.S. Senate hearing. She told members of the Committee on Woman Suffrage that she represented "a number of Virginia women" and delivered a strong, succinct statement that criticized Virginia's men for taxing women without representation, denying women access to state-supported institutions of higher education, preventing women from holding most professional positions, and refusing to allow women to help make the laws under which they had to live. She concluded, "Therefore we request that the ballot be given us in order that we may protect our interests as American citizens; and we believe it will be greatly to the advantage of the administration of public affairs in our own State, and we are determined that it shall be given to us." Because of such efforts, Langhorne was acknowledged nationally by suffragists as a pioneering activist in Virginia. She lamented that she could not do more for the cause because of poor health, which plagued her for many years until her death.[22]

Langhorne was active in the National Woman Suffrage Association and, after 1890, its successor, the National American Woman Suffrage Association

(NAWSA). She served on the organization's executive committee as Virginia's representative, and when possible between 1880 and 1902, she attended the annual conventions, where she delivered speeches. The organization's *History of Woman Suffrage* described Langhorne in 1902 as Virginia's "most active worker for twenty years." Langhorne also helped raise funds for the national movement. In 1888 she donated a framed copy of the *Virginia Gazette* from 1776 to the Woman Suffrage Bazaar in Boston. The newspaper had been in her family since the American Revolution, and prospective buyers could view it at the office of the *Woman's Journal*.[23]

In her interactions with national suffrage leaders, Langhorne consciously sought not only to share information about Virginia's feeble suffrage movement but also to provide some explanation for its lackluster condition by describing social and cultural circumstances in the state. In a letter to Susan B. Anthony in 1884, she blamed male politicians: "Intense interest is felt in political affairs by Virginia women, but the fierce and cruel methods of the politicians among us have not been calculated to induce women to desire to attend public meetings or go to the polls. The actual number of women who wish to vote in Virginia is small at present, but is increasing." Nine years later, she looked back to the antebellum period for an explanation of why Virginia women had not done more to advance their own rights. In a paper that her niece read for her at the NAWSA convention in 1893, Langhorne focused on the life of the plantation mistress, who had suffered from a lack of education but had, since the end of the Civil War, descendants who recognized the need for greater rights in postwar Virginia.[24]

Langhorne also urged national suffrage leaders to visit Virginia. She wrote to Anthony in 1884, "I think if some of the Suffrage speakers would make a tour of Virginia, or indeed the whole South, they could make many converts to our cause." Eleven years later, Langhorne hosted "Aunt Susan" in Culpeper, after Anthony had attended the NAWSA convention in Atlanta and had also visited New Orleans and Columbia, South Carolina. While in Culpeper, Anthony delivered a lecture, and Langhorne provided a summary of the event to the *Woman's Journal*, which was then picked up by one of her hometown newspapers, the *Rockingham Register*. Langhorne wrote, "Her lecture was delivered with the fervor and earnestness always characteristic of her, and was heard with interest by many of our most intelligent citizens." Langhorne also took the opportunity to set forth her opinion that although not much suffrage work had been done in Culpeper, the town provided fertile ground for progressive ideas.[25]

In 1893 Langhorne and other reformers founded a state suffrage association, which served as an auxiliary to the NAWSA and harked back to an earlier state organization created in 1870. Langhorne became its first president and continued to fill that role until the time of her death. The organization focused on building networks, distributing literature, and promoting women's suffrage in

newspapers. Langhorne also formed alliances with regional suffrage leaders. In 1895 she assisted fellow suffragist Josephine Henry of Kentucky in gathering testimonies from southern women regarding their desire to vote. In a *Rockingham Register* article describing their joint efforts, Langhorne repeated Henry's pointed criticism of male chivalry: "'An ounce of justice is of more value to women than a ton of chivalry.'" The next year, as reported in the *Richmond Dispatch*, Langhorne attended the inaugural meeting of the Richmond Equal Rights Association, which was founded in the wake of a visit to the capital city by Laura Clay, president of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association. Langhorne reported to the group on the state suffrage association and its recent meeting at NAWSA headquarters. She apparently hoped that the state suffrage association she had helped organize would rise to another level, and before her death she left Laura Clay $2.50 for the establishment of an equal suffrage league. In 1909 female activists founded the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia.[26]

Although women did not achieve suffrage during her lifetime, Langhorne continued to celebrate the progress that Virginia women had made since the end of the Civil War. In a paper read at the meeting of the American Social Science Association in May 1900, she did not refer to suffrage but pointed out the strides that women had made in education, employment, professional service, and missionary work. Langhorne also claimed that Virginia women had left the provincialism of the antebellum period behind and created "a network of woman's associations, benevolent, literary, patriotic, even political." Langhorne always expressed optimism about the future for women in Virginia.[27]

Langhorne also routinely conveyed a sense of optimism about the lives of Virginia's African Americans in the aftermath of emancipation. Because of her monthly columns for the *Southern Workman*, Langhorne wrote about the transition from slavery to freedom and the postbellum experiences of African Americans more than any other topic. While certainly not free from either paternalism or classism, she viewed African Americans as fellow citizens and usually presented them as such in her writings. She recognized that this viewpoint was uncommon, writing in 1889, "It seems well-nigh impossible for the ex-slaveholders to include our colored compatriots when they say the 'people.'" Langhorne spoke out against the subjugation of black southerners and found common cause with such similarly progressive thinkers as novelist and critic George Washington Cable. In 1890 she defined "Radical" as an "honorable title": "It means the effort one man may make to right the ancient wrongs, to secure to all born on Southern soil, the right to 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'" In 1893 Langhorne took on John Temple Graves, a Georgia orator who denigrated African Americans and aggressively defended lynching. Langhorne responded to his words by enumerating the progress of former slaves during the thirty years since the end of slavery and concluded, "Compared with the same number of white people as poor and ignorant as the Negroes when eman-

cipated, the freedmen have far outstripped the Caucasians, in spite of poverty, prejudice and proscription." Langhorne's enlightened views of African Americans, compared to those of the vast majority of her white contemporaries, were acknowledged by at least one prominent black leader in Virginia. The *Richmond Planet*'s activist editor, John Mitchell Jr., described Langhorne as "a white lady of rare ability" and "one of the noblest ladies in the country."[28]

Langhorne regularly expressed a sense of awe at the progress that former slaves had made and sought to highlight these advances in her writings. Her relentless optimism on this topic undoubtedly resulted in part from her paternalistic desire to uplift black Virginians through her columns and also from her self-appointed role as a booster for postbellum Virginia in general and the Shenandoah Valley in particular. In 1883, for example, she wrote positively about the literary and artistic achievements of African Americans: "From what has already been accomplished against obstacles there is every reason to hope for the mental progress of the African in America." In 1888 she sketched the life of Manuel Claytor, an independent and well-respected former slave who lived near her and her husband, and claimed that his path to success was "open to all colored people of our land." Langhorne's optimism often appears extremely naïve, as when she dismissed the 1883 U.S. Supreme Court ruling that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 was unconstitutional. She asserted that this decision would not be an impediment to black progress since African Americans had achieved so much in the past ten years. Similarly, later that year, she emphasized black progress and smooth race relations in the face of the Democrats' use of violence, intimidation, and fraud to take back the Virginia legislature from the Readjusters, who had briefly succeeded in creating a biracial political coalition around the issue of repudiating part of the state's debt to free up funds for public education and other services. Finally, even as Virginia implemented de jure segregation and prepared to disfranchise black voters, Langhorne in 1900 continued to rejoice in abolition, declaring at a national conference, "Best, greatest of all our gains, slavery has gone forever from our land. In truth, at last in this second century of our republic is found liberty for all, when in former times there was but a semblance thereof." She went on to emphasize Virginia's progress, including "a growing tolerance of difference in opinion" and "less violent" politics. "People from all sections of the land meet and mingle kindly on Virginia soil," she stated. Ex-slaves lived independently, educated their children, and enjoyed unprecedented prosperity, Langhorne told a national audience as she presented an idealized portrait of turn-of-the-twentieth-century Virginia.[29]

Langhorne took particular interest in her family's former slaves. In May 1881 she wrote, "Nearly all of those once belonging to my family are now owning property, most of them too independent to need to go into [domestic] service." In 1882 she visited a settlement of former slaves called "Africa" or "Newtown," located on land once owned by her grandfather. She described the transforma-

tion that she witnessed: "I felt almost in a dream, and had to rouse myself as we reached the door of a large, comfortable, weather-boarded house, in order to realize that, in this year of grace 1882, I stood before the dwelling of our ex-slaves."[30] In addition to checking up on her family's former slaves, Langhorne made it a point to visit with prominent African Americans whenever possible. When African American activist and statesman John M. Langston came to Lynchburg in 1882, she called on him, and they spoke optimistically about the interracial Readjuster movement in Virginia. A native of Louisa County, Langston in 1888 would become the first African American elected to Congress in the state. That same year, while in Charlottesville to attend the commencement exercises at the University of Virginia, Langhorne visited Robert Scott, a former member of the Scott family minstrel group that had gained fame playing at summer resorts in the western part of the state. When in Richmond, she stopped by the offices of the *Richmond Planet*, which took a firm stance against racial prejudice, segregation, and lynching.[31]

While Langhorne always wrote positively about educated and economically successful African Americans, she sometimes wrote disparagingly about lower-class black Virginians, and her attitudes toward them grew harsher as she got older. In 1883 she was dismissive of the women who sold food at the train station in Charlottesville, describing them as "gnomes of darkness . . . compelled by the evil genius they serve, to go on forever offering sour apples and tough pies, supernatural numbers of chicken legs, and greasy biscuit at the car windows." In 1894 she published a scathing and at times racist assessment of the poorest African Americans, whom she described as "almost savages" and "a constant danger to the land." She excoriated unwed mothers and delinquent fathers and claimed that since emancipation "the great majority of colored children have been terribly neglected." Expressing her deeply held paternalism, Langhorne wrote, "The generation of Negroes born since the war are, in many cases, greatly inferior to their parents born and bred in slavery." She concluded that Virginia needed a reformatory for African American children. In the story *Aunt Pokey's Son*, Langhorne described in a negative, stereotypical manner the physical appearance of the boy who helped Aunt Pokey in her shop. She also depicted him as a "graceless urchin" who was rude and undisciplined.[32]

While she was not immune to racism or classism, Langhorne took her assignment for the *Southern Workman* seriously. For her readers, she wanted to capture the everyday lives of former slaves and contrast their freedom with their former life of servitude. She eagerly sought out informants in various settings. Langhorne was also a keen observer who noticed the details of ordinary existence. In 1885, for example, she published an article in the *Southern Workman* titled "The Freedman's Hat." In it she described a visit to a black community in the Piedmont, where a carpenter wore his hat while he was doing work for white customers. Langhorne recognized that this action symbolized the man's

free status. In 1884 she published a detailed account of the types of work that many black Virginians performed, concluded that most did unskilled labor, and encouraged them to aspire to fill more professional positions.[33]

In an effort to convey the ordinary experiences of ex-slaves, Langhorne observed African American travelers during her many trips by train between Lynchburg and Harrisonburg. At stations and on trains, she asked passengers about their lives and their destinations. "Nothing about the colored people of today impresses the observer more than the way they travel about," she wrote in 1886. Langhorne thus recorded one of the major transformations of the post–Civil War era in the South: the desire and ability of former slaves to move from place to place in pursuit of better employment, family reunification, or simple pleasure. Riding on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad between Staunton and Harrisonburg in March 1881, Langhorne spoke to several African Americans who were on their way to Washington, D.C., for the inauguration of President James Garfield. She frequently made note of the departure of black Virginians for better jobs in the North and West, such as in 1892 when she wrote that many residents had left the Valley for Chicago to earn higher wages and attend the World's Fair the next year.[34]

Langhorne was aware of the social change represented by the advent of black Virginians (who were not servants) mingling with white passengers on the trains. On a trip from Lynchburg to Harrisonburg in May 1881, she wrote that two young black women rode in the first-class car that she occupied. Langhorne noted that although this would have "excited a commotion" a few years previously, interracial travel no longer caused any difficulties. Nine years later, she again made note of black and white passengers traveling together from Lynchburg to Harrisonburg without incident. In 1900 Langhorne expressed strong opposition to legislative efforts to require African Americans to travel in separate railroad cars from white passengers. In her travels, "there were always colored people on the trains, and they were always quiet and orderly." She did not shy from pointing out some of the hypocrisies of those who supported separate cars. "We are always telling the Negroes the southern people are their best friends," she wrote, "but it is hard to make them believe it while we draw the color line in such a way as to fix a stigma upon them." She also asked, "We can stand any amount of juxtaposition with colored people if it serves our convenience, and shall we never consider theirs?" At the same time, Langhorne articulated one of her major arguments against segregated cars: the idea that such a system would class well-educated and prosperous black Virginians with "coarse, uncouth, [and] degraded men and women . . . who have rejected all the benefits freedom has offered them." With her denunciation of less-fortunate African Americans, Langhorne reflected the potent racism and class prejudice of the turn of the century, despite her steady support for the principle of equal rights.[35]

Despite her attention to a wide variety of topics and her keen sensitivity to the changes that had taken place since emancipation, in her writings during

the 1880s and 1890s Langhorne never described white violence against black Virginians, though she did acknowledge it on occasion. In an essay about a Lynchburg art exhibition, she described lynching as "cruel and reckless" but did not treat the subject in depth. In 1890 she noted that political violence had decreased, and that white Virginians did not get as agitated about political issues as they had previously. According to Langhorne, black citizens voted in Lynchburg, and they supported the Republican Party. Langhorne claimed that black residents intimidated members of their own race if they showed an inclination to vote for the Democratic Party. Langhorne's tendency to evade the issue of interracial violence, combined with her relentless optimism, provides evidence that she wanted to depict race relations in Virginia in the best possible light at all times.[36]

Langhorne's story *Aunt Pokey's Son* presents her ideal of postwar progress for African Americans and their ongoing relationship with white Virginians. Pocahontas Randolph, or Aunt Pokey, is a dignified former slave woman who has become a successful independent businesswoman but remains old-fashioned in outlook. Her college-educated son, Isaac Randolph, is full of progressive ideas and heady aspirations for his race, but his work as a teacher is having ill effects on his health. Isabella Moncure, the Randolphs' former mistress, is sympathetic to Isaac's progressive ideas and offers him a position as manager of her husband's plantation. With fond memories of his enslaved childhood and a wealth of sympathy for his former owners and the losses they had experienced during the Civil War, Isaac agrees to take the position. In this fantasy, Langhorne wove together themes from her own life and beliefs that she hoped to see reflected in the larger society: the transformative power of emancipation and education for African Americans coupled with cordial race relations based on the firm foundation of white benevolence and progressive thought.[37]

In her writings and speeches, Langhorne also made note of the changes that emancipation had brought about in the lives of white Virginians. As noted earlier, she portrayed the end of slavery as liberating for white women. Langhorne was also interested in the social and economic consequences of emancipation, particularly in the field of domestic service. In 1883 she claimed that few white families in the Shenandoah Valley employed more than one servant, and that as a result they entertained less than they had before the war. By 1889 Langhorne stated that "many people" in the Valley had given up on hiring servants because they were so dissatisfied with them.[38]

Domestic service, in fact, was the topic of two essays published by Langhorne. In these, she attempted to present both sides of the so-called servant problem. She considered the complaints of employers that postemancipation household workers were unreliable, inefficient, and rude. In her 1890 essay she asserted that newly freed black Virginians should rightly "throw off the obsequiousness of the slave," but she lamented that "they should go to the other extreme," thereby indicating her belief that there was some validity to employers'

criticism. Langhorne also reviewed the grievances of women who worked as domestic servants, acknowledging that their complaints about low pay and long hours were compelling. Langhorne recommended the use of labor contracts between employers and employees to improve working conditions and ensure better service. "Southern housekeepers have at their doors abundant material to make efficient and faithful servants," she wrote in the *Southern Workman* in 1890. "The colored people have the best opportunity ever offered poor and struggling people for employment, which, if justice is done on both sides, can be mutually helpful." Langhorne also noted that "kindness and patient effort" would go a long way toward improving relations. While reprising the theme of domestic service for a national audience at the American Social Science Association meeting in Washington, D.C., in 1901, Langhorne also acknowledged that there were legitimate grievances on both sides, but she came down much more harshly on household employees. She characterized domestic servants stereotypically: "Black Dinah holds the fort, and rules the roost for us; and, when she will half-way do her work and treat us with reasonable civility, we are wont to be satisfied, look leniently upon her moral delinquencies, and greatly prefer her to any of the foreign tribe." She painted a romantic picture of domestic service under slavery and contrasted this with present conditions, in which white employers had to train lower-class African American workers who were "half-wild, ignorant creatures." As a solution, Langhorne recommended the establishment of free schools across the South to train black children in domestic work.[39]

Langhorne's attentiveness to domestic service stemmed largely from her interest in the transition from slavery to freedom and race relations. Yet she was also concerned about Virginia's overall economy and its resurrection after the Civil War. In many ways Langhorne acted as a booster. She wrote frequently about Virginia's economic prospects, particularly in the Shenandoah Valley. During the 1880s, she highlighted the economic expansion that took place prior to the Panic of 1893. In 1888–89 she commented on the expansion of Lynchburg's local economy beyond tobacco and described a new kaolin pipe factory in nearby Appomattox County and a new paper mill in Lexington. In Lynchburg, according to Langhorne, African American men served on the local committees formed to sell stock in new companies. Despite her pride in her state, Langhorne did attempt to put Virginia's economic growth into context. She consulted her uncle, Dr. William H. Ruffner, who had spent a lot of time in Birmingham, Alabama, about Virginia's economic awakening and reported that he found it to be anemic compared to other areas of the New South. Even so, when she had the opportunity to address a national audience at the American Social Science Association meeting in May 1900, Langhorne reviewed the state's economic transformation since the Civil War and promoted Virginia apples, as well as the state's mineral resources. While she cautioned that economic prosperity had bypassed some areas of the state, she concluded that progress would continue unabated.[40]

Orra Gray Langhorne died of heart trouble on May 6, 1904, at the home of her sister Henrietta in Lexington, Kentucky. She was buried near her husband in Lynchburg. At the NAWSA convention in 1905, Langhorne's name was included in the memorial resolutions, and she was described as one of the movement's pioneers. The *Southern Workman* paid tribute to Langhorne, asserting that "her look was ever forward, her mind ever eager for progressive ideas, her sympathies as broad as the interests of humanity." She was praised for having "the rare courage of her convictions" and for providing inspiration to others through her reform work.[41]

Although no known photograph of Langhorne exists, her words live on and help recreate the extended transition from slavery to freedom within postbellum Virginia. Langhorne's speeches and writings celebrated African Americans' progress even as they documented the challenges of changing white Virginians' racial attitudes (including her own paternalism). Langhorne firmly supported equal rights and education for Virginia's black residents, while at the same time she conveyed her belief that there had been happy slaves and benevolent slaveholders in prewar Virginia, including within her own family. Always optimistic, Langhorne clearly sought to give African American readers of the *Southern Workman* hope for the future. A self-appointed booster for Virginia, she also presented conditions in the state as congenial to newcomers and businesses. Langhorne's work for better schools and women's suffrage reflected the early emergence of progressive reform within the state. Although she only passed on a small amount of seed money to the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia, Langhorne left a legacy of dedication to the concept that women should be given equal rights and opportunities. Perhaps most significantly, Langhorne's reform efforts, her advocacy of reconciliation between North and South, and her promotion of the Shenandoah Valley gave Virginia a female voice before a national audience, a rare occurrence in the late nineteenth century.

NOTES

1. The main scholarly treatment of Langhorne's life and work is Charles Wynes's introduction to his edited collection of her columns for the *Southern Workman* titled *Southern Sketches from Virginia*. Wynes wrote an excellent overview of Langhorne's personality, family life, and reform activity. He met and corresponded with one of Langhorne's nieces, Henderson Daingerfield Norman, who provided him with rich details about Langhorne. Although skeptical of Langhorne's literary talents and occasionally condescending toward her as a woman, Wynes clearly respected Langhorne's reform work and her racial tolerance. In his book on race relations in Virginia after the Civil War, Wynes used Langhorne's multiple descriptions of interracial train travel to demonstrate that some conditions in Virginia supported C. Vann Woodward's thesis of a period of flexibility in race relations prior to the mid-1890s. Wynes also edited *Forgotten Voices: Dissenting Southerners in an Age of Conformity* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), a set of essays by seven white southern men who expressed liberal views regarding race and race relations between 1885 and 1917. Charles E. Wynes, editor's introduction to Orra Langhorne, *Southern Sketches from Virginia, 1881–1901* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1964), xv–xxxix (hereafter cited as Wynes,

introduction), note on 137; Charles E. Wynes, *Race Relations in Virginia, 1870–1902* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1961), 72–73, 149–50.

2. Elna Green has emphasized the solitariness of Langhorne's early crusade in Virginia. "Langhorne's work was notable," she has concluded, "but Virginia was completely dependent upon her personal efforts alone." Green, *Southern Strategies: Southern Women and the Woman Suffrage Question* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 155; James S. Wamsley with Anne M. Cooper, *Idols, Victims, Pioneers: Virginia's Women from 1607* (Richmond: Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, 1976), 265–67; "Woman Suffrage in Virginia," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/woman_suffrage_in_virginia (accessed July 2, 2012). I would like to thank the staff of the *Dictionary of Virginia Biography* for sharing with me their research materials on Orra Langhorne.

3. Wynes, introduction, xviii–xxi.

4. Ibid., xix, xxi.

5. Ibid., xxiv, xxxii.

6. Ibid., xxi–xxii.

7. Unfortunately, the journal that Langhorne apparently kept during the war no longer survives. Ibid., xvii, xxviii; Orra Langhorne, "Harrisonburg and the Shenandoah Valley," *Southern Sketches*, 92; Orra Langhorne, "No. 38—Hospital Memories," in *"Our Women in the War." The Lives They Lived; The Deaths They Died. From The Weekly News and Courier, Charleston, S.C.* (Charleston: News & Courier Book Press, 1885), 248–51; Orra Langhorne, "Johnny Kline. The Dunker Preacher of the Shenandoah Valley," *New England Magazine*, December 1886, 145–46; "Made His Foe's Tombstone," *Daily Yellowstone Journal*, March 2, 1889, [4].

8. Wynes, introduction, xxii–xxiii; Langhorne, "Johnny Kline," 145–46.

9. Charles Wynes described Algernon Gray as "a lifelong opponent of the institution of slavery" but did not analyze his lengthy tenure as a slaveholder. The master's name in Daingerfield's story is Algernon Graham rather than Algernon Gray, but I believe Daingerfield was referring to her father. Wynes, introduction, xxi, xxvi; Henrietta G. Daingerfield, *Our Mammy and Other Stories* (Hampton, Va.: Hampton Institute Press, 1906), 130, 140–42.

10. Wynes, introduction, xxvi–xxvii; Langhorne, "Harrisonburg and the Shenandoah Valley" and "Domestic Service in the South," *Southern Sketches*, 93, 110.

11. Wynes, introduction, xxvii–xxxi, xxxiv; Orra Langhorne, "Our Tenants and Customers," *Southern Sketches*, 12.

12. The Woman's National Press Association began as the Ladies' Press Club and was renamed in 1883; the National Woman's Press Association became the International Woman's Press Association in 1887. Neither organization left a significant paper trail, but apparently Langhorne belonged to both organizations. Elizabeth V. Burt, ed., *Women's Press Organizations, 1881–1999* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 2000), xii; Wynes, introduction, xxvii, xxxvi; Orra Langhorne, "The Freedman's Hat," *Southern Sketches*, 52; *Sunday Herald*, November 29, 1891, 2; *Washington Times*, January 6, 1895, 7; *Richmond Planet*, July 19, 1890, 1; *Richmond Times*, October 30, 1892, 6; Orra Langhorne, *Aunt Pokey's Son: A Story of the New South* (Lynchburg, Va.: L. P. Bell, 1890).

13. Langhorne seems to have combined two strains—liberal and conservative racialist—of white southern attitudes about the Civil War and emancipation, as identified by historian David Blight in *Beyond the Battlefield: Race, Memory, and the American Civil War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 197–98.

14. Orra Langhorne, "In the Shenandoah Valley" and "A Visit to the Valley," *Southern Sketches*, 19, 27; Orra Langhorne to Susan B. Anthony, March 1, 1884, in Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, eds., *National Woman Suffrage Association: Report of the Sixteenth Annual Washington Convention. March 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th, 1884, with Reports of the Forth-Eighth Congress* (Rochester, N.Y.: Charles Mann, 1884), 95–96, in *Votes for Women: Selections from the National American Woman Suffrage Association Collection, 1848–1921*, Library of Congress, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi

-bin/query/r?ammem/naw:@field(DOCID+@lit(rbnawsan8341div22) (accessed August 17, 2012); Orra Langhorne, "To Virginia Women," *Rockingham Register*, February 1, 1895.

15. Langhorne to Anthony, in Stanton and Anthony, *National Woman Suffrage Association Report*, 95; Langhorne, "No. 38—Hospital Memories," 250; "Made His Foe's Tombstone," [4]; Langhorne, "Johnny Kline," 148–49; Orra Langhorne, "Lynchburg's Art Loan Exhibition," Part 2, *Virginia School Journal* 9 (March 1900): 73.

16. Langhorne to Anthony, in Stanton and Anthony, eds., *National Woman Suffrage Association: Report*, 95–96; Orra Langhorne, "Changes of a Half-Century in Virginia," *Journal of Social Science* 38 (December 1900): 171; Langhorne, "A Visit to the Valley," *Southern Sketches*, 51; Orra Langhorne, "Virginia Moving," *Rockingham Register*, May 3, 1895; Orra Langhorne, "'Here's Rosemary, That's for Remembrance," *Richmond Dispatch*, March 22, 1896, 14; Langhorne, "Lynchburg's Art Loan Exhibition," Part 2, 73. On the faithful slave motif, see also Daingerfield, *Our Mammy and Other Stories*, 129–30.

17. Orra Langhorne, "A Chance for Fame," *People's Advocate*, December 27, 1879, 1.

18. Orra Langhorne, "Education, Women, and Negroes," "A Visit to the Valley," "Education and Other Interests of the Colored People," "Charlottesville and the University of Virginia," and "Commencement Exercises at the University of Virginia," *Southern Sketches*, 107, 50–51, 84–85, 66–67, 81.

19. Langhorne, "Changes of a Half-Century in Virginia," 172; "The Hampton Conference," *Washington Bee*, July 30, 1898, [4]; Wilma King Hunter, "Coming of Age: Hollis B. Frissell and the Emergence of Hampton Institute, 1893–1917" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1982), 274–75; *Proceedings of the . . . Capon Springs Conference for Christian Education in the South* (1898–1900), 78, Hathi Trust Digital Library, http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008958034 (accessed September 6, 2012).

20. Hunter, "Coming of Age," 274–75; Langhorne, "Lynchburg's Art Loan Exhibition," Part 2, 74; Langhorne, "Domestic Service in the South," *Journal of Social Science* 39 (November 1901): 173–75.

21. There is no indication that Langhorne tried to organize interracial suffrage work. Langhorne, "Virginia Moving," *Rockingham Register*, May 3, 1895; Langhorne, "To Virginia Women," *Rockingham Register*, February 1, 1895; Green, *Southern Strategies*, 164–67; Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South: The Leaders of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the Southern States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 101, 130–31; "Want Their Rights," (Washington, D.C.) *Evening Star*, February 16, 1898.

22. Wynes, introduction, xxxi–xxxii; "Personals and Briefs," *Richmond Planet*, February 3, 1894, 1; Ida Husted Harper, *The History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. 6 (New York: J. J. Little & Ives, 1922), 665; U.S. Senate, *Report of Hearing Before the Committee on Woman Suffrage, January 28, 1896* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), in *Votes for Women*, Library of Congress, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/nawbib:@field(NUMBER+@od1(rbnawsa+n8343) (accessed August 17, 2012); Langhorne to Anthony, in Stanton and Anthony, *National Woman Suffrage Association Report*, 96.

23. Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper, eds., *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. 4 (Indianapolis: Hollenbeck, 1902; reprint, New York: Source Book Press, 1970), 964; Stanton and Anthony, *National Woman Suffrage Association Report*, 141; "Items About Women," *Thomas County Cat*., February 2, 1888, [7].

24. In 1894 Langhorne gave a talk on "House Cleaning in Old Virginia" that may well have sounded a similar theme, possibly along with an emphasis on the need for women's involvement in municipal housekeeping. Langhorne to Anthony, in Stanton and Anthony, *National Woman Suffrage Association Report*, 96; Anthony and Harper, *History of Woman Suffrage*, 4:212, 228.

25. Langhorne to Anthony, in Stanton and Anthony, *National Woman Suffrage Association Report*, 96; Langhorne, "Virginia Moving," *Rockingham Register*, May 3, 1895.

26. Anthony and Harper, *History of Woman Suffrage*, 4:964; *The Thirty-Third Annual Convention of the . . . National American Woman Suffrage Association* (1902), 12, in *Miller* NAWSA *Suffrage Scrapbooks*, 1897–1911, Library of Congress, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem

/rbcmillerbib:@field(DOCID+@lit(rbcmiller001391) (accessed August 17, 2012); *First International Woman-Suffrage Conference and the 34th Annual Convention of the National-American Woman-Suffrage Association* (1902), n.p., in *Miller NAWSA Suffrage Scrapbooks*, Library of Congress, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/rbcmillerbib:@field(DOCID+@lit(rbcmiller001399) (accessed August 17, 2012); Langhorne, "To Virginia Women," *Rockingham Register*, February 1, 1895; "The Richmond Equal-Rights Association," *Richmond Dispatch*, April 25, 1896, 3; Harper, *History of Woman Suffrage*, 6:665; Wheeler, *New Women of the New South*, 17; "Woman Suffrage in Virginia," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/woman_suffrage_in_virginia (accessed July 2, 2012).

27. Langhorne, "Changes of a Half-Century in Virginia," 173–74.

28. Langhorne, "The Race Question in the Episcopal Church," "Commencement Exercises at the University of Virginia," and "Lynchburg Letter," *Southern Sketches*, 78, 100, 101; "Mrs. Langhorne's Plea," *Richmond Planet*, August 26, 1893; "He Defends Lynch Law," *New York Times*, August 12, 1903; "Personals and Briefs," *Richmond Planet*, May 9, 1896, [4].

29. Langhorne, "Literature among the Colored People," "Letter from Lynchburg," "White and Colored People in Virginia," "Our Colored Neighbors," and "Education and Other Interests of the Colored People," *Southern Sketches*, 24, 34, 36, 75–76, 78; Langhorne, "Changes of a Half-Century in Virginia," 173, 175–76.

30. Langhorne, "A Trip to the Shenandoah Valley" and "Notes from the Shenandoah Valley," *Southern Sketches*, 7, 21.

31. Langhorne, "A Sketch of John M. Langston" and "Commencement Exercises at the University of Virginia," *Southern Sketches*, 14, 82; "Personals and Briefs," *Richmond Planet*, May 9, 1896, [4].

32. Langhorne, "In the Shenandoah Valley" and "Street Scene in a Virginia Village," *Southern Sketches*, 17, 122–24; Langhorne, *Aunt Pokey's Son*, 4–5. For a positive portrayal of African American laborers, see Langhorne, "Good Times for Old Virginia," *Southern Sketches*, 105. For references by Langhorne to Africans as "savages," see "Changes of a Half-Century in Virginia," 171, and "Domestic Service in the South," *Journal of Social Science*, 170. Although Langhorne wrote little about less-privileged white Virginians, she held them in lower regard than elite white people. See, for example, "White and Colored People in Virginia," *Southern Sketches*, 37.

33. Langhorne, "White and Colored People in Virginia" and "The Freedman's Hat," *Southern Sketches*, 38–39, 54.

34. Langhorne, "A Trip to the Shenandoah Valley," "A Visit to the Valley," "Charlottesville and the University of Virginia," and "A Visit to the Valley," *Southern Sketches*, 6–7, 29–30, 68, 114.

35. Langhorne, "A Trip to the Shenandoah Valley" and "Good Times for Old Virginia," *Southern Sketches*, 4; "Separate Cars for Negroes: A Virginia Woman's Ideas," *Cleveland Gazette*, March 31, 1900, 1.

36. Orra Langhorne, "Lynchburg's Art Loan Exhibition," Part 1, *Virginia School Journal* 9 (February 1900): 41; Langhorne, "Lynchburg Letter," *Southern Sketches*, 101–2.

37. Langhorne, *Aunt Pokey's Son*, 2–16.

38. Langhorne, "Notes from the Shenandoah Valley" and "Harrisonburg and the Shenandoah Valley," *Southern Sketches*, 22, 93.

39. Langhorne, "Domestic Service in the South," *Southern Sketches*, 108–10; Langhorne, "Domestic Service in the South," *Journal of Social Science*, 169–75.

40. Langhorne, "A Visit to Lexington" and "A Lynchburg Letter," *Southern Sketches*, 88–90, 95–97; Langhorne, "Changes of a Half-Century in Virginia," 175–76.

41. "Deaths and Funerals: Langhorne," *Lexington Herald*, May 7, 1904, [2]; Ida Husted Harper, *The History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. 5 (New York: J. J. Little & Ives Co., 1922; reprint, New York: Source Book Press, 1970), 146; Wynes, introduction, xxxiv–xxxvi.

Sadie Heath Cabaniss

Mother of Professional Nursing in Virginia

JODI L. KOSTE

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On a warm spring day in 1903 Sadie Heath Cabaniss and her friend and former student Nannie Minor eagerly strolled to the state capitol building from their home at the Nurses' Settlement on North Seventh Street in Richmond, Virginia. They were anxious to watch Governor Andrew Jackson Montague affix his signature to the "Act to Regulate the Professional Nursing of the Sick." The General Assembly, at the behest of Cabaniss and the newly organized Virginia State Association of Nurses, had passed this legislation establishing a board of examiners to register trained nurses. For Cabaniss, this event capped off a decade of remarkable accomplishments. Beginning with her graduation from the Johns Hopkins Hospital Training School for Nurses in 1893, Cabaniss began to lay the foundation for professional nursing in the commonwealth. Her extraordinary institutional accomplishments included organizing the Old Dominion Training School for Nurses, establishing the Nurses' Settlement, and forming the state association for graduate nurses. Each of these undertakings helped Cabaniss legitimize the nascent nursing profession and assure her legacy in her native state. The 1903 bill signing marked an important milestone for a woman who dedicated her life to improving the nursing care available to ordinary Virginians.

Sarah "Sadie" Heath Cabaniss, the third daughter and youngest child of Charles James and Virginia Heath Cabaniss, was born in Petersburg, Virginia, on October 9, 1865, exactly six months after General Robert E. Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia at Appomattox Court House. She spent her childhood at the family's ancestral home, Bothwell, in war-scarred Dinwiddie County, the scene of considerable military action in the last year of the Civil War. Bothwell and its surrounding three thousand acres of woodlands had passed into the family line through Sadie's father. The tract had been held by just

OLD DOMINION TRAINING SCHOOL FOR NURSES,
CLASS OF 1900

Sadie Heath Cabaniss is at the top of the group on the stairs.
Courtesy of Special Collections and Archives, Tompkins-McCaw Library,
Virginia Commonwealth University.

SADIE HEATH CABANISS'S HEADSTONE

This headstone marks Sadie Heath Cabaniss's grave
in Blandford Cemetery, Petersburg.
Courtesy of Special Collections and Archives, Tompkins-McCaw Library,
Virginia Commonwealth University.

two other families in her lineage since it was initially granted by King Charles I in the first half of the seventeenth century. Charles Cabaniss eventually devoted his time to farming his inherited land. He had prepared for a career in law with a classical education that included a year at the University of Virginia, but his fragile health forced his retirement by middle age, and he settled into the role of gentleman farmer.[1]

In spite of the economic hardships and changing cultural landscape of postwar Virginia, Charles Cabaniss endeavored to provide his children, including his daughters, the same education he had enjoyed as a young man. He introduced them to Latin, French, and German and insisted that they read the classics. Reflecting on her early education, Sadie recalled that her father had "very old-fashioned ideas of cultivating literary taste and mental development, so very little fiction and light literature were allowed me." Around age twelve, she left home for formal schooling at Mount Pisgah Academy. Fannie Page Robinson oversaw this private school for girls located on her family's property in King William County where the young Cabaniss would board for the next four years. For many young ladies of Cabaniss's generation, formal education would end after several years at a school such as Mount Pisgah. Charles, however, supported her passion for reading and learning and next sent the sixteen-year-old to Saint Timothy's School in Catonsville, Maryland. In the fall of 1882, Cabaniss enrolled in the inaugural class of thirty-six boys and girls at the school, which was administered by Sarah Randolph Carter, a prominent Virginia educator.[2]

Cabaniss graduated from Saint Timothy's in 1884. She had planned to enter Vassar College, but according to one source, her family wished for her to read medicine under the direction of the physicians at the University of Virginia.[3] In the short run, Cabaniss's education prepared her to teach, and she became a governess for a family in Essex County. Teaching was one of the few occupations that the Cabaniss family would find acceptable. About 1886 or 1887, she returned to Mount Pisgah Academy as an instructor. Cabaniss had greatly admired Fannie Robinson, her headmistress and teacher, during her tenure as a student and was eager to work with her mentor. This experience ultimately proved to be a disappointment. Sadie discovered that Robinson did "not measure up to her ideals." An unspecified incident at the school prompted her resignation and the abandonment of her teaching career by 1890. Her brief experience at Mount Pisgah proved important for another reason. Cabaniss took with her on this assignment Emily Baskerville, a nine-year-old neighbor from Dinwiddie who lacked any family support. The two shared Cabaniss's room, and Baskerville recalled that she "slept in [Cabaniss's] arms." Cabaniss informally adopted Baskerville and provided for her education over the next ten years.[4]

Following her three years at Mount Pisgah, Cabaniss returned to Dinwiddie to contemplate her next move. By the age of twenty-four, the young woman had matured and was ready to pursue her own interests. Standing five feet two

inches tall, medium stature for her day, and weighing according to her own calculations on average 115 pounds, Cabaniss was by most accounts an attractive young woman with hazel eyes and brown hair. She apparently had a few suitors but elected to pursue an independent life. She once told Baskerville that she was not intended for motherhood. A strong personality with a determination to do what she wished in life, Cabaniss finally decided to apply to nurses' training school. She often claimed she had had a lifelong desire to study nursing, but the idea actually may have germinated while she attended Saint Timothy's. Though the origins of her nursing impulse remain obscure, one implication of her new career path remains perfectly clear. Sadie's family, and particularly her father, adamantly opposed this vocational orientation. Her decision strained her relationship with her family, and she spent less time at her childhood home in the future.[5]

Nurses' training was in its formative years at the time. In 1890 fewer than fifty training schools existed in the United States and only one in Virginia. Undoubtedly, Cabaniss had heard of the grand plans for a medical school and hospital at the new Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore during her time at Saint Timothy's. In May 1890, when the Johns Hopkins training school was in the midst of its first year, Cabaniss wrote to the superintendent, Isabel Hampton, requesting an application. She returned it by June 20 and was immediately accepted to begin training in October. Her strong educational background and social standing matched or exceeded that of the other Hopkins students. Entry requirements at that time were minimal. The training school accepted women between the ages of twenty-three and thirty-five. Each applicant needed to secure a character reference from a clergy member and certify proof of good health as verified by a physician. Cabaniss declared her health excellent and noted, "my physician & several other representatives of the medical profession pronounce me a fine specimen of a sound & robust woman, 'a perfect picture of health,' as they phrase it." This was an interesting and perhaps less than fully accurate declaration, as the start of her training would be delayed by illness, and she suffered from a variety of ailments throughout her adult life. Still, Cabaniss officially accepted her place in the entering class of probationers for the fall of 1890.[6]

Over the next fourteen months Cabaniss corresponded regularly with Hampton about beginning her training. Writing from Culpeper, Virginia, on September 20, 1890, Cabaniss asked the superintendent to provide her with a firm date for her arrival in Baltimore. She wished first to travel to Saint Timothy's to visit her former headmistress. In a letter to Hampton, Sadie noted that her days in Culpeper "were spent with a friend who used cistern water. Owing to some impurity in the water, I had an attack of dyspepsia which seemed to have developed into a slight bilious spell." She never reported to Johns Hopkins that fall. In February 1891 Cabaniss once again wrote to Hampton requesting permission to enter training. She gave some insight into the obstacles that she faced when she

noted, "As to the opposition in my family, it distresses me; but can't seriously affect my plans except financially & I hope I am brave enough to be somewhat indifferent to that." Both illness and family opposition had delayed her entrance.[7]

Cabaniss finally began her training at the Johns Hopkins Hospital on September 13, 1891, along with nine other probationers. The environment proved stimulating and exciting. The state-of-the-art hospital, just two years old when Cabaniss arrived, was the focus of all activity. The university had gathered a group of prominent and promising physicians to lead its proposed medical school, but the school was still two years from opening and the physicians on the faculty spent their time attending patients on the wards, instructing residents, and teaching the young women in the training school. Cabaniss had access to some of the most accomplished physicians in the United States, including Drs. William Osler, Howard A. Kelly, William S. Thayer, John Miller Turpin Finney, and William H. Welch. This prominent faculty lectured in the evenings from early October through the first week in June. Although the physicians played a prominent role in the didactic teaching, they were not in charge of the training program as in many other hospitals, particularly those affiliated with smaller institutions. The school benefited from important international developments in nursing. Francis T. King, president of the Hopkins board of trustees, had traveled to England and met with Florence Nightingale to investigate the pioneering school she had organized. Much of Nightingale's plan was incorporated into the Hopkins program, including separate living quarters for pupil nurses, an independent budget, and a female superintendent.[8]

While the Hopkins training program was based on the Nightingale model, it also bore the imprint of Isabel Hampton, based on her experience at the Illinois Training School for Nurses. Hampton designed a graded curriculum that combined theoretical instruction in classes and lectures with practical and technical teaching in the wards. The curriculum included traditional nursing classes and unique offerings in massage and dietetics where students were taught elementary food chemistry as well as methods for preparing meals for invalids. These classes were held in the afternoons, giving the students a break from their twelve hours of daily duty in the hospital. Hampton's desire to expose each student to "all things that tend to perfect her as a nurse" guided her in creating a schedule that allowed for rest, study, and recreation. In addition to strong nursing skills, Hampton believed that a competent nurse needed a "familiarity with current events, a knowledge of what is going on in the world of art, literature, and even sciences, and a readiness to comprehend all of anything that may be of interest to her patient." Hampton created both formal and informal learning situations that exposed her students to the methods, procedures, organization, and discipline required in nursing. The schedule was demanding, but the students enjoyed the respite and camaraderie that they found in the nurses' living quarters.[9]

Cabaniss lived with other probationers on the first floor of the nurses' home and progressed quickly through the curriculum, assuming greater responsibility with each passing year. Her work on the wards began almost immediately. The probation period was a time for assessment and orientation. All probationers were examined on their reading, writing, and recitation skills. Cabaniss's educational background served her well, and she encountered no difficulties in moving on to the junior class. In October 1892 she sat for her junior examinations of five oral and written questions and finished at the top of her class with a perfect score of 100 on the medical test and a score of 99 on the surgical exam. Following her examination, Cabaniss assumed the responsibilities of a senior student and began preparing charts, administering medicines, and caring for one or two severely ill patients. She also had the opportunity to accompany the head ward nurse, the attending physician, and the residents on hospital rounds. Over the course of her two years in training, Cabaniss spent time in the public and private medical, surgical, and gynecological wards in addition to working in the dispensary and taking her mandatory rotation in cooking school. Her training also included sixty days of special private duty where she attended only one patient, either within the hospital or in the community. Senior pupils were also introduced to district nursing by caring for patients in their homes in some of the poorest neighborhoods of Baltimore. Students were expected to nurse patients back to health and provide them with instruction in hygiene and healthful living.[10]

These experiences had a lasting effect on Cabaniss. Her Hopkins years were some of the most exciting and satisfying in her life. She formed lasting relationships with Hampton, her assistant superintendent Lavinia Dock, who joined the school in November 1890, and head nurse Adelaide Nutting, a graduate of the first class of the Hopkins training school. All of these women played a major role in establishing and shaping professional nursing in the United States. Hampton and Nutting, both of whom hailed from Canada, had spent time teaching before attending training school, similar to Cabaniss. Dock, the lone American in the administrative group, was an ardent feminist and often served as a catalyst, prompting the others to make changes in the training program or secure more independence for the school. Within a year, however, the core members of this group moved on to new positions. Dock left Hopkins just after Cabaniss received her graduation certificate, while Nutting moved into her former position of assistant superintendent of the training school.[11]

Despite her sense of excitement and commitment to Hopkins, Cabaniss encountered several difficulties during her matriculation. She periodically missed days due to illness, including almost two weeks in February 1893. In total, she lost sixty-nine days for sickness and vacation over the course of her training, more than most of her classmates. As a result, Cabaniss failed to achieve the same uniformly high marks on her senior examinations that she had in those

at the end of her junior year. Still, she performed reasonably well. With the exception of the 66 she scored for hygiene, her remaining grades were well above the 70 required for passing. She completed all her examinations with an 86.7 average, which placed her sixth in her graduating class of sixteen. Although Cabaniss participated in graduation exercises held on June 2, 1893, she, like other members of the class of 1893, had to make up clinical time missed due to absences. She finally finished her required hours on November 18, 1893. By that time she had moved into the role of night head nurse.[12]

Cabaniss's senior year proved personally difficult, but she witnessed firsthand the development of organized professional nursing in the United States. In 1892 Ethel Gordon Bedford Fenwick, a leader in the nursing profession in Great Britain, visited the United States to plan an exhibition on British hospitals and nursing for the International Congress of Charities, Corrections, and Philanthropy (ICCCP) that was scheduled in conjunction with the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Fenwick met with Dr. John Shaw Billings, head of the Surgeon General's Library and chair of the hospital section of the ICCCP, and she also traveled to Baltimore to confer with Isabel Hampton. Billings and Johns Hopkins Hospital superintendent Dr. Henry Hurd previously had asked Hampton to head the nursing section of the ICCCP. Hampton worked closely with her colleagues, Nutting and Dock, to employ a professionalizing strategy for the Columbian Exposition. They carefully selected papers that would introduce the concepts for training school superintendents, establishing alumnae associations, and creating a national organization of nurses. The three attended the ICCCP along with a number of student nurses from the Johns Hopkins Hospital who helped staff the emergency room at the World's Fair. Although Cabaniss did not attend the congress, she heard much discussion about the meeting both before and after the event. It inspired her to emulate these national nursing leaders and organize the nursing profession at the state level when the opportunity presented itself.[13]

Cabaniss's key opportunity came in the fall of 1894 when she left her job at Hopkins and returned to Virginia to assume a position at the Medical College of Virginia (MCV). Dr. George Ben Johnston, professor of surgery at MCV, proved instrumental in launching this next phase of her career. After two of his patients died at the MCV-affiliated Old Dominion Hospital (ODH) while under the care of the Sisters of Mercy, Johnston contacted Isabel Hampton to request the services of a trained nurse to improve patient care; Hampton suggested Cabaniss for the job. The twenty-nine-year-old Hopkins graduate soon began her work as the head operating room nurse at the ODH. When she arrived, the hospital was undergoing some renovation and reorganization. The college faculty had installed a women's board of managers to support and oversee the affairs of the hospital. The physicians soon recognized Cabaniss's superior organizational and executive skills. They asked her to become superintendent and initiate a train-

ing program for nurses. The latter task proved to be quite challenging as MCV had limited resources or facilities. Cabaniss attempted to put into place a program similar to the one she experienced at Hopkins. Pupil nurses had the same twelve-hour days with time off for meals and instruction. Evening lectures were conducted by Cabaniss who taught nursing, pharmacology, and dietetics while the medical faculty taught other subjects in the curriculum. Cabaniss had tremendous support from the faculty and Dr. Johnston in particular. When the first full class of students graduated on June 8, 1897, they enjoyed the active participation of the medical faculty, who delivered addresses, presented diplomas bearing their signatures, and showered the new nurses with flowers.[14]

A number of the faculty also intervened to ease Cabaniss's dealings with the board of managers. She had little direct experience working with a board, although she was probably aware of Isabel Hampton's unsuccessful efforts to prod her board to enact changes at the Illinois Training School. The Old Dominion board generally was supportive of its hard-working superintendent, although the executive board minutes revealed some disagreements, misunderstandings, and a periodic lack of communication. The board's primary focus was fiduciary. Enhancements to the hospital, nurses' living quarters, and the training program could not be allowed to interfere with the financial health of the institution in their minds. Although the board benefited from support from local church congregations of various denominations and funds raised by Richmond's benevolent women, it failed to secure the resources necessary to support a teaching hospital with an affiliated training school. This created some inevitable conflicts. The board sought to eliminate positions and reduce funding for hospital food. Cabaniss, on the other hand, was eager to obtain additional furnishings and equipment, rent an adequate nurses' home, and implement such new innovative services as visiting nursing.[15]

The visiting nurse service issue illustrates Cabaniss's creative approach to her formidable administrative challenges. Drawing on her experience at Hopkins, Cabaniss initially presented a plan for visiting nursing to the board of managers in November 1896. This hospital-sponsored visiting nursing service, approved by the board in early 1897, brought revenue to the institution as patients who could afford to pay were charged for student nursing services. The Old Dominion Hospital lacked a maternity ward, and the student nurses made house calls to women needing pre- or postpartum care. At times, when beds were needed in the hospital, patients were prematurely discharged and student nurses eased the transition by making home visits. Cabaniss actively supervised her students who engaged in visiting nursing. She corresponded with those who undertook long assignments, providing instruction, encouragement, and advice. Cabaniss admonished a student nurse caring for a typhoid patient in May 1899 to "be careful to disinfect your hands thoroughly after doing *anything* for your patients even touching their bedclothing or drinking vessels etc. Soap & hot water used

generously and nails well cleaned & trimmed are about all needful precautions." In addition to providing private home nursing care, the students played an important role in caring for patients in the Old Soldiers' Home, the city almshouse, Sheltering Arms Hospital, and other institutions. Through her visiting nursing program Cabaniss gave her students valuable clinical experience and raised much-needed revenue in the process.[16]

Cabaniss continued to support her students following their graduation. When her first full class graduated in June 1897, she convinced them and members of the junior class to organize an alumnae association. As an active member of the Johns Hopkins Hospital Alumnae Association, Cabaniss knew firsthand the value of such a group to sustain friendships, maintain communication, and establish a professional network. Cabaniss also hoped to strengthen the reputation of her training school and the status of its graduates by making them eligible for the newly organized Nurses' Associated Alumnae of the United States and Canada. Individual nurses could only obtain membership through their affiliation with their local alumnae associations. On February 8, 1898, the graduates of the ODH obtained a charter for the Old Dominion Hospital Alumnae Association. The stated purpose of the association was "for the advancement of its members in professional work, the promotion of good fellowship, the establishment of benefit fund for ill nurses, and a residence for the convenience and registry of members desiring it." Cabaniss's connection with the Hopkins alumnae earned the young Old Dominion Hospital Alumnae Association a recommendation for membership in the national organization, and it received associate membership status on November 3, 1899.[17]

Cabaniss expected "absolute & unfailing loyalty" from her students, both during their time in training and after graduation. She looked to the alumnae association to sustain the strong bonds she formed with them. Although she was a rigid disciplinarian, her students were devoted to, and inspired by, her. Cabaniss set high ideals for them, and most responded with enthusiasm. She developed a particularly strong attachment to the class of 1900. This group would be the last to graduate during her tenure as superintendent and the final one to enter under the two-year curriculum. Like other classes before them, they took a role in providing nursing care to the poor of Richmond. This duty seemed to resonate with them more than it had with any previous class. In fact, one particularly influential member of this cohort of seven offers an instructive insight into Cabaniss's influence, as well as the loyalty she inspired.[18]

Nannie Jacquelin Minor was the daughter of John B. and Anne Colston Minor. She grew up at the University of Virginia where her father was professor of law. Like her mentor Cabaniss, she was well educated, had cared for an ailing parent in her young adulthood, suffered from poor health, and faced family opposition to her decision to enter nursing. For a number of months in 1898, Minor was a patient in the Old Dominion Hospital, where she first

met Cabaniss and discussed her interest in attending the Johns Hopkins Training School. Cabaniss convinced her that she lacked the strength and stamina to complete the program. Nevertheless, Minor was determined to enroll. She eventually made it to Baltimore, not as a student nurse but as a patient under the care of Dr. William Osler. After treating Minor and restoring her to health, Osler encouraged her family to accept her decision to become a nurse. Nannie contacted Cabaniss and began training at the ODH in the spring of 1899. Within six months, Cabaniss accepted her into the senior class based on her study of the nursing textbooks, review of lecture notes from the previous year, and successful completion of the junior-year exams. Cabaniss tagged her with the nickname "Lazarus" because "she knew of no one who had been at grave's door so often." The two women remained devoted friends. They would work, travel, and live together over the next ten years as they established public health nursing in Virginia.[19]

Cabaniss's fledgling program for public health nursing was only beginning in 1898 when she was forced to address other issues at the training school. From the outset Cabaniss sought adequate housing for her students and the few staff nurses who had lived in eight-by-eight-foot "cells" on the third floor of the hospital building with no windows and little ventilation. Many chose to sleep in hammocks on the porch to escape the sweltering summer heat. Finally, the board of managers agreed to rent a house close to the hospital, and Cabaniss arranged her summer vacation so that she could supervise the move to the new quarters.[20]

For a short period of time, Cabaniss served as superintendent of both the Old Dominion and the neighboring Sheltering Arms Hospital in addition to managing her training school. The small charity hospital generally closed its doors during the summer months, and any remaining patients were transferred to the ODH. Managing nursing affairs in two hospitals soon proved too much for Cabaniss, who repeatedly overtaxed herself and became sick. She resigned the Sheltering Arms position to devote her full energy to the ODH. Cabaniss would need all of her energy and strength to deal with the influx of patients that would arrive at the institution in 1898. In that year the federal government designated the ODH as the health care facility for soldiers stationed near Richmond. A measles outbreak before the Spanish-American War deployment and a typhoid epidemic afterward brought 251 additional patients to the hospital.[21]

Cabaniss found these experiences exhausting and at times discouraging. The hospital's workload adversely affected her students' training. In other hospitals across the country, student nurses comprised the work force during their training, and the situation at the Old Dominion Hospital may have been worse than most. The hospital's board discharged its responsibilities irregularly and without the commitment required to ensure the success of the institution and its training school. Student nurses were forced to assume roles such as head operating

or ward nurse for which they were not completely prepared. In addition, the hospital expected them to perform ongoing work and teach younger students. When possible, Cabaniss implemented changes to keep pace with other training schools, but the board's policies constrained and limited her abilities to administer a first-class institution.[22]

In 1899 Richmond banker and philanthropist John L. Williams initiated a fund-raising drive with the goal of constructing a modern hospital. The successful outcome of this effort would have a significant impact on Cabaniss's career. Memorial Hospital, which opened in 1903, was to become the new teaching facility for the MCV. At the time, the medical college was embroiled in a fierce competition with the University College of Medicine, an upstart medical school founded in 1893 and located just two blocks away. A new hospital with a nurses' training program would provide just the edge that the old school needed in its battle with the younger competitor. By 1901 the MCV faculty had made the decision to abandon the ODH building when Memorial Hospital was completed, and they eliminated Cabaniss's position as superintendent. The faculty may have been aware of Cabaniss's plans to start a nurses' settlement, or perhaps they had tired of her demands for additional support for the training school in addition to her increasingly frequent illnesses. Disheartened by the faculty's decision, she submitted her resignation in the spring of 1901.[23]

Following her departure from the Old Dominion Training School, Cabaniss joined her former students from the class of 1900 at the Nurses' Settlement of Richmond. Determined to devote their careers to nursing the sick poor in their homes, they had organized the settlement shortly after graduation with the blessing and encouragement of their former superintendent. Cabaniss shared their passion for this type of work. Through her connection with Lavinia Dock, she had firsthand knowledge of the Henry Street Settlement of New York City, which had been founded by Lillian Wald and Mary Brewster in 1893. By that point, visiting or district nursing already had a long and distinguished history. It had been initiated in Great Britain and made its way across the Atlantic to the United States by the 1870s. When Cabaniss and the class of 1900 obtained the charter for the Richmond settlement, similar organizations could be found in most large northeastern cities. Few such institutions existed in the South, however, as there were just a handful of large cities and a relatively small number of training schools for nurses. In Virginia the King's Daughters, a Norfolk-based service group, had started a visiting nursing service in 1896. This work was unknown to Cabaniss and her associates in the summer of 1900.[24]

The enterprising nurses located a house at 108 North Seventh Street and formally opened their groundbreaking venture on November 1, 1900. The young women scraped together funds to rent and furnish the house and then embarked on a routine of visiting the sick poor of Richmond. Simultaneously they managed their own home, cooking and cleaning for themselves with minimal

outside assistance. At a time when southern society looked suspiciously on unmarried women living on their own, the nurses faced an uphill battle in gaining acceptance from the Richmond community. They were not even immediately embraced by the physicians of the city, who initially perceived them to be usurping medical authority. Cabaniss allayed these fears by having her nurses follow doctors' orders explicitly and making sure to seek permission for any treatment or procedure not previously prescribed by a physician. Ultimately, the nurses and the settlement came be viewed as "doing a noble work in a quiet and unostentatious manner."[25]

Richmond's social services, both public and private, failed to keep pace with the city's development at the turn of the twentieth century. Many of the city's 85,050 inhabitants found employment in the growing industrial and commercial sector, which included 763 manufacturing establishments and a booming tobacco products industry. In spite of the benefits of the local economy, many Richmonders suffered as a result of poor housing, inadequate water and sewage lines, and limited access to health care. In 1900 the leading cause of death was tuberculosis, followed closely by pneumonia, diarrheal diseases, and other disorders exacerbated by poor and overcrowded living environments. The settlement nurses hoped to improve these conditions and, in the words of Cabaniss, make the poor "better morally, mentally and physically."[26]

An idealistic and dedicated group, the nurses required external financial support to provide for their own living and to support the visiting nursing program. They accepted private-duty jobs to generate income while donations from Richmond's charitable and religious organizations provided additional resources. Cabaniss herself, for example, secured support by leaving Richmond in the summer of 1901 to become superintendent at the Thomas Wilson Sanitarium for Children, a daycare center, summer camp, and in-patient facility for sick children near Baltimore. The sanitarium's affiliation with the Johns Hopkins Training School meant that student nurses rotated there for specialized training in pediatrics. Cabaniss used her Hopkins connection to arrange for her ODH graduates to spend time at the institution. Her tenure at Thomas Wilson, however, was cut short in June 1901 when she returned to Virginia following the death of her father. Three weeks later, Cabaniss returned to Baltimore and began to contemplate plans for the future. She apparently obtained a fellowship at the Henry Street Settlement and was set to head to New York City in the fall of 1901 when family obligations once again thwarted her plans. Her mother fell ill and Cabaniss returned to Virginia to care for her until her death on October 25, 1901.[27]

While Cabaniss worked at the sanitarium, her former students issued an invitation to graduate nurses across Virginia to meet at the Nurses' Settlement on June 13, 1901, to form a state association. The group planned an initial meeting for October, when Cabaniss would be back in Virginia to address them.

A state association was one of several goals that Cabaniss hoped to achieve to further the cause of nursing. She instructed her students to seek support from physicians around the state, anticipating that these allies would be useful as the organized nurses pushed forward for more formal professional recognition. The organization, formed initially as the Virginia State Association of Nurses, adopted the name of Graduate Nurses Association of Virginia (GNAV) in 1905 to distinguish itself as a group of formally trained and educated nurses. The purpose of the association was to elevate the standards in the field of nursing and to obtain legal recognition of their professional status. The membership elected Cabaniss as the first president in 1901, a role she would fulfill until 1905 when she refused to stand for reelection. An active member of the GNAV until the last few years of her life, Cabaniss participated in the annual proceedings and led the group in support of national programs and causes for the benefit and development of the profession. In her final presidential address to the GNAV, she reminded the recently organized nurses that "our Local Associations, State Associations, National Associations and International Federations complete and perfect the chain which we forge for the betterment and comfort of humanity."[28]

Cabaniss's words came from her own experiences within the professional organizations. While serving as superintendent of the Old Dominion Training School in 1896, she was elected to membership in the American Society of Superintendents of Training Schools for Nurses, forerunner of the National League of Nursing. She regularly attended the group's annual meetings, thereby reconnecting with Isabel Hampton Robb and Adelaide Nutting. In these early years of organized professional nursing, Cabaniss frequently served as the lone representative from the South. She knew how difficult it was to establish the new profession, make changes in health care, and survive as an independent woman in her conservative social milieu. She needed all the support and inspiration that she could find nationally among the leaders and members of the growing young profession to continue her push for progress in the Old Dominion. Ultimately, Cabaniss established herself through membership in the Nurses Associated Alumnae, the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, the American Federation of Nurses, and the National Conference of Charities and Corrections. She traveled to meetings, presented papers, and served in various leadership capacities. Cabaniss proved particularly active with the Nurses Associated Alumnae. She served as a vice president, solicited support for the *American Journal of Nursing*, advocated for the developing nursing education program at Columbia University's Teachers' College, and, most importantly, helped arrange for the association to meet in Richmond in 1907. These professional experiences reinforced her leadership position and enabled her to keep Virginia nurses in touch with developments in the broader profession.[29]

The registration of nurses was an emerging issue within the fledgling profession at the beginning of the twentieth century. Those practitioners who had

been formally educated sought to safeguard their claim to the title of nurse and to protect the public from the untrained who offered their services as nurses. Encouraged by the rapid organization of the GNAV and by Sophia Palmer's editorial in support of registration for nurses in the inaugural issue of the *American Journal of Nursing*, Cabaniss explored options for Virginia. She faced an uphill battle. As her colleague Elizabeth Webb noted, Virginia nurses recognized the need for regulation and control but had little appreciation for how "much hard work was involved, ignorance to be enlightened, and above all, prejudice to be overcome." Cabaniss and the GNAV formed a committee to draft registration legislation, and Cabaniss cleverly worked her personal connections to secure its passage. She struck up a partnership with William Glasgow, an attorney and the husband of Jean Macara Glasgow, an 1895 graduate of the Johns Hopkins Training School. Cabaniss also secured the services of her cousin Charles T. Lassiter, a state senator from Petersburg, who introduced Senate Bill No. 300, "An Act to Regulate the Professional Nursing of the Sick in the State of Virginia," on March 25, 1903. Two weeks later, to Cabaniss's delight, the bill passed in the Senate without opposition. Even at this stage, however, the battle was only half won. As the nurses noted, "many of our legislators are 'old fogies' in their ideas." Cabaniss rallied a group of nurses to appear in the gallery of the House of Delegates to encourage passage by that body. The House insisted on a grandfather clause that would allow nurses to register without examination for a period of a year before it finally passed the bill by a vote of fifty-four to seven.[30]

Virginia thus secured the fourth nurses' registration law in the United States. It was similar to those in New York, New Jersey, and North Carolina, which were enacted earlier in 1903 and protected only the title of registered nurse. Those who were untrained could still offer their services without the use of the title registered or trained nurse. Virginia's law was unique in one respect. It created a board of examiners composed entirely of nurses. The GNAV sent a list of twelve potential candidates to Governor Montague within days of the bill's enactment. Montague selected Cabaniss, Nannie Minor, Jean Glasgow, Leah De Lancey, and Margaret Watkins to serve on the initial board, which met for the first time on October 14, 1903, at the Nurses' Settlement in Richmond. Board members gratefully elected Cabaniss as president, adopted procedures for registering nurses, and prepared for the first registration examination in December 1904. The members of the board tested their procedures for registration by filing their own applications. Cabaniss selected Dr. William Osler and Adelaide Nutting as references to attest to her professional training and experience.[31]

Cabaniss served on the board for ten years. Under her leadership the board focused its attention on registering nurses, examining candidates for registration, and establishing educational criteria for nursing training schools. Cabaniss's "tact and diplomacy," evident as she fought to secure the registration law, proved even more necessary as she successfully turned back challenges to

the board's authority. At the same time, she dealt with the frustration by many registered nurses who felt that they lacked "immediate protection" from unregistered and undertrained nurses who commanded the same pay. Toward the end of her tenure on the board, Cabaniss established a library, investigated reciprocal registration for Virginia nurses, and initiated a program for visiting hospital training programs. Her work did much to enhance the professional standing of nurses. As she noted, the public began "to see us no longer as a band of mere wage-earning women, but as their intelligent friends ever battling courageously for their well-being and health in the most skillful manner known to modern science."[32]

During her board service, Cabaniss primarily resided at the Nurses' Settlement and continued her work in public health nursing. Gradually, word of the settlement spread throughout the state and in the larger profession. Cabaniss reported on the grand experiment to her alumnae magazine as early as 1902. In the same year, Lavinia Dock visited the settlement to witness the pioneering work of the Virginians. She and others who chronicled the history of nursing gave Cabaniss and Minor credit for operating a program comparable to Lillian Wald's famous Henry Street Settlement. The Richmond settlement represented the progressive reform impulse emerging in the capital city during the first decade of the twentieth century. Women's activities such as those at the settlement were accepted by progressives who believed in "maternalism," the notion that women had an innate understanding of the needs of children and their own sex. This ideology stimulated Cabaniss and the other nurses to develop innovative programs and reforms to improve the lives of their patients. Cabaniss lobbied for playgrounds, pure milk, child care services, and specialized care for tubercular patients that would remove them from their unhealthy surroundings. The nurses implemented a variety of educational programs ranging from one-on-one instructional sessions with members of a patient's family to group classes on cooking, hygiene, and other topics designed to promote healthy living.[33]

The settlement never lacked for innovative ideas and novel concepts. Unfortunately, the fledgling social welfare agency often did not have adequate funding to implement its vision. The nurses' busy work schedules left little time for fund-raising or promotion. The settlement needed broad support from the city's white middle-class women, the "ladies benevolent" who had financed so many of Richmond's growing number of social welfare institutions. Women's benevolent organizations had a long history in Richmond by 1900, and it was not surprising that a philanthropic group would coalesce around the settlement. Nannie Minor had an opportunity to address the Richmond Woman's Club in early 1902, and in response to her heartfelt pleas Lila Meade Valentine, a Virginia suffragist and educational reformer, called together other Richmond women to form the Instructive Visiting Nursing Association (IVNA). By February 14, 1902, the IVNA was incorporated with the Nurses' Settlement by the

Virginia General Assembly. The IVNA functioned as an umbrella organization to coordinate fund-raising and to support the nursing services provided by the settlement. It immediately employed Cabaniss, Minor, and Sarah Harvie at a monthly salary of $37.50. The establishment of the IVNA relieved Cabaniss from constant worries about finances and allowed her to explore other options for improving the health of impoverished Richmonders.[34]

Cabaniss expanded her work almost immediately after the organization of the IVNA. With funding that came from the city government, she started a training school for attendants at the almshouse. As a contemporary newspaper recently had reported, "Nursing at the almshouse is done mostly by inmates, and is almost wholly inefficient." Cabaniss's training program, however, proved short lived. The death of an attendant in training and Cabaniss's public disagreement with the almshouse superintendent doomed the project within the year. The effort did, however, focus public attention on the institution and convinced city authorities to secure funding for a resident trained nurse at the almshouse.[35]

New local and state public health programs emerged from these efforts, and some of the first public-private partnerships for caring for the sick resulted. Tuberculosis was a serious problem in Richmond, and Cabaniss and the other settlement nurses were anxious to reduce morbidity and mortality from the disease. Richmond hospitals closed their doors to highly contagious patients such as those with tuberculosis. Settlement nurses did all they could to instruct families in proper hygienic procedures and the need for fresh air, but this proved ineffective. The severely ill required specialized care that was not available in Richmond. Cabaniss and her associates responded by organizing a tuberculosis dispensary with help from volunteer physicians. By 1906 the city's chief health officer, Dr. Ernest Coleman Levy, established two larger dispensaries, one for whites and another for African Americans, to replace the settlement's small service. Levy paid the settlement for the services of two nurses who provided regular assistance at the newly organized dispensaries.

The segregated facilities served as a reminder to Cabaniss and her nurses of the importance of staying within the racial bounds dictated by Richmond's social norms. Apparently she remained mindful of this when addressing race issues with the Board of Nursing and the GNAV. Cabaniss pushed the state association to formally adopt a policy that excluded African American trained nurses from membership while she simultaneously adopted a universalist approach with the Board of Nursing and endorsed the registration of all trained nurses regardless of race. Cabaniss and her colleagues also had adopted a policy of treating all patients regardless of race, creed, or religion from the outset. The primacy of Jim Crow in the years following the adoption of the Virginia Constitution of 1902 would steer the IVNA down the path of segregation as it institutionalized separate spheres of practice for settlement nurses and hired African American nurses to provide care only for their own race.[36]

Cabaniss and the IVNA initiated other programs to fight tuberculosis, including the formation of a Tuberculosis Camp Society and ultimately a special hospital for consumptives known as Pine Camp. Other significant achievements during Cabaniss's tenure as head nurse included city-sponsored nursing services in schools and company-funded nurses in manufacturing plants. The settlement nurses contributed to the emerging field of social work, early childhood education, and after-school activities for children of working mothers. The IVNA sponsored an annual fund-raiser called "Tag Day" that helped sustain the organization in its first decade. At the close of Cabaniss's tenure, the IVNA, like other visiting nursing services across the country, contracted with the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York to provide services to policy holders. The infusion of funds from these initiatives, along with allocations from the city government, provided a sound financial base for the IVNA. In her final annual report, Cabaniss wrote that "we are much gratified by the many evidences of public appreciation of the work and readiness to aid in it."[37]

Cabaniss's years at the Nurses' Settlement and IVNA had been stimulating, rewarding, and exhausting. Like other nurses who found their home in public health nursing, Cabaniss enjoyed the professional independence and economic security that it provided. She was a visionary who most enjoyed starting new programs then passing them on to others who might handle day-to-day administration and ensure their sustainability. By 1909 she clearly appeared ready for a change and a rest. She resigned her post as head nurse and moved to Hanover County where Florence Lathrop Page, the wife of novelist Thomas Nelson Page, had endowed a home, Pinecote, for use as a rural nurses' settlement. Cabaniss faced numerous difficulties in introducing this new service in an area where ignorance and superstition kept people away. She continued to visit the sick poor in the county, but traveling by horse and buggy on poor roads made accomplishing this difficult. After caring for a family with food poisoning and managing a smallpox scare in the spring of 1911, Cabaniss herself fell ill. The years of exhausting work had taken their toll. Cabaniss's family was forced to institutionalize her for a period of more than two years. Writing of her sanatorium experience to her cousin's wife on her release in 1913, Cabaniss observed that "the memories of its horrors and yet more horrible corps, still haunts me, waking at night sometimes trembling with terror, believing myself in its cursed walls yet, and so thankful to realize it is miles away." This breakdown and her experience in what she labeled "the worst kind of Insane Hospital" seemed to have had a lasting impact on her life. Although the rest of her career included several highlights, Cabaniss would drift from one state and position to another, never again establishing the permanent home and caring community that had sustained and enriched her during her years in Richmond.[38]

In December 1914, following her long convalescence, Cabaniss accepted an invitation from the King's Daughters and a group of community-minded

women to move to Saint Augustine, Florida, to establish visiting nursing in that city. Cabaniss embraced this chance to build a settlement based on her model in Richmond. She immersed herself in her work but also found time to reconnect with her old associates in the American Nurses' Association during their annual meeting in New Orleans. In a little more than a year she established the Neil Neighborhood House Auxiliary. It offered similar services to the Richmond Nurses' Settlement, including a kindergarten department, domestic science classes, and a public playground. Cabaniss had bounced back from her mental breakdown and successfully proven her ability to lead and innovate with her work in the Saint Augustine community. She was ready for new opportunities.[39]

In March 1916 Ella Phillips Crandall, executive secretary of the newly organized National Organization for Public Health Nursing (NOPHN), invited Cabaniss to consider a position coordinating the work of twenty public health nurses within the North Carolina Department of Health. The department sought "a Southern woman, a College graduate, a person of liberal experience in Public Health nursing, including tuberculosis especially, and a person of executive ability." Cabaniss more than fulfilled these requirements. Heeding Crandall's advice to "accept larger opportunities for service when we are called," she left Florida for a new adventure in North Carolina. It lasted less than a year. Permanent funding for the project never materialized, and Cabaniss returned home to Virginia in the midst of World War I.[40]

Cabaniss appears to have adopted an isolationist stance toward the global conflict, similar to the position taken by many Americans at that time. When the United States finally entered the war, however, she was anxious to serve. Working through Crandall and the NOPHN, Cabaniss secured a job as public health nurse for the city of Port Wentworth, Georgia, on the outskirts of Savannah. She was in Port Wentworth and ministered to the military personnel when the great influenza epidemic of 1918 struck. After the war she returned to Virginia and accepted the responsibilities of a school nurse at Foxcroft Academy in Middleburg. There she cared for students during an outbreak of mumps when she became ill again. The sulfur fumigation process that Cabaniss used to disinfect rooms and bed linens caused, in her words, "this horrible case of conjunctivitis" and an irritated throat that hemorrhaged for several days. She left her post in the summer of 1920 owing to this health crisis and sought specialty care in Washington, D.C.[41]

Cabaniss's final move took her to Westmoreland County, Virginia, where she would be near her friend and former student Emily Baskerville, now married to Dr. Walter Chinn. She accepted another post as a rural visiting nurse but refused to burden Chinn by living with her and her family. Instead, she took up residence in the local Episcopal rectory. Unfortunately, her work required her to travel the area and her health continued to deteriorate. Cabaniss never learned to drive a car and was without a horse or the ability to ride one. She occasionally accepted a ride from Dr. Chinn, but mostly she elected to walk to her patients'

homes. As Emily Chinn recalled some years later, "During this twelve months I suffered a thousand deaths—I saw her dying day by day and I could do nothing." Cabaniss finally gave up. Chinn cared for her for several months before contacting her adopted mother's remaining siblings to take Cabaniss home to Petersburg. In June they sent their struggling sister back to Westbrook Sanitarium in Richmond for more advanced care. She died there on July 11, 1921.[42]

Cabaniss was laid to rest in her family's plot in Blandford Cemetery in Petersburg. Her headstone bears the Maltese cross emblem of the Johns Hopkins Hospital Training School. She faithfully wore her nursing school pin throughout her life, a reminder of her idealistic training days and a symbol of her commitment to her profession. Cabaniss's classical education, middle-class background, and family connections opened doors for her, an option many of her nursing colleagues did not have. Through her work with various political and community forums she made friends and formed relationships with those who had broader and more radically feminist agendas. Cabaniss, however, chose to focus exclusively on nursing. Like her mentor Isabel Hampton, she remained silent on the right of women to vote and devoted her energy and public actions to those issues that directly affected the growth and development of the nursing profession. Regarded by many as the Florence Nightingale of the Old Dominion, she almost single-handedly created the foundations for professional nursing in her native state. Cabaniss left her mark on nursing education, professional practice, and most especially on the field of public health. A pioneer on the urban frontier, she brought hope to the poor, earned social and professional respect for nursing from the community, and gave a generation of nurses a maxim by which to practice. Discussing the profession with one of her former students in 1902, Cabaniss wrote: "It is not a trade, but a mission & a womanly occupation which if properly filled calls forth all one's best qualities moral & physical."[43] To nursing, Cabaniss gave her best and her all.

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Adèle Clark

The Artist as Activist

RAY BONIS

❀ ❀ ❀

Adèle Clark combined her vocation as an artist and educator in Richmond, Virginia, with political activism to advance the rights of women and others for nearly seven decades. She was a founding member of the Virginia Equal Suffrage League, longtime head of the Virginia League of Women Voters, and a progressive reformer and lobbyist. She was a catalyst for increased state support for the arts in Virginia. "I've always tried to combine my interest in art with my interest in government," Clark said in 1956. "I think we ought to have more of the creative and imaginative in politics." Those artistic instincts helped Clark become one of Virginia's most successful citizen activists. Clark's activist life also illustrates the journey of a southern progressive in relation to the complex issues of race in Virginia. Clark went from someone indifferent to those matters in the 1910s to publicly supporting racial integration by the 1950s.[1]

Although Clark often said she always considered herself a Virginian, she was born in Montgomery, Alabama, on September 27, 1882. Clark preferred to say she was of "New Orleans heritage." Her mother, Estelle Goodman Clark, was born in New Orleans in 1848 to a prosperous Jewish family. In 1873 Estelle married Robert Clark, a native of Belfast, Ireland, born in 1832, who had immigrated to the United States and settled in New Orleans. The Clarks had four children: Edith Clark, Ruth, Adèle Goodman, and Gertrude Estelle.[2] The Clark family relocated several times in the 1870s and 1880s as Robert Clark, a railroad worker, pursued his career with a number of different companies. The family first came to Richmond in 1885 when Adèle was three years old. They returned to Alabama in 1889 and then lived for about four years in Pass Christian, Mississippi. At the Pass Christian Institute, a school for girls where her mother taught music, Clark took her first art instruction under the guidance of Netta Gray Bedinger.

The family returned to New Orleans for about one year before permanently settling in Richmond in 1894, when Adèle was twelve years old. Estelle's brother, Edward Samuel Goodman, had established himself in Richmond some three years earlier working as a traffic manager for the Richmond Chamber of Commerce. "Uncle Eddy," as he was called by the Clark children, helped the family financially after Robert Clark died in 1906. In 1912 Edward built a large house in Richmond's Ginter Park neighborhood. Within six years Adèle, her mother, and other family members went to live with Edward. The house remained the Clark family residence for seven decades.[3]

Soon after arriving in Richmond, Clark began attending the most elite of the city's private schools for girls, the Virginia Randolph Ellett School (now Saint Catherine's School). She also began art instruction on the weekends at the studio of Lily M. Logan. Clark, who would go on to specialize in portrait painting, had at the age of twelve a conception of herself as an artist. As she later recounted:

> Miss Lily Logan's studio was the center of art in Richmond. . . . I recall my first view of it when one day as a small girl recently having come to Richmond from New Orleans. I ran into the friendly looking yard through the picket gate to escape a runaway pony that was dashing down Franklin Street with no regard for sidewalk regulations. [After knocking on the door of the house] . . . I stood waiting, when the door opened upon what then seemed to me a glimpse of Paradise. From there stood a tall, kindly lady, with a palette and brushes in her hand, and beyond her were easels, model stands, curtains, and a high shelf along which were arranged casts of the classics.
>
> As I explained to the lady my sudden appearance, she asked me to come in. I could no longer contain my feelings, and said in an awed voice, "You are an artist! And this is a Studio!" To which she replied, "Yes I am an artist, but how did you know?" "I am an artist, too" I brashly replied.

Logan instilled an ethic of professionalism in her young pupil. Clark recalled, "The ideals Miss Lily set were high. No one was allowed to copy. She would say of our work, that this or that drawing would be rejected by an exhibition jury for some professional flaw. Always the professional ideal kept before us."[4]

Clark graduated from the Ellett School in 1901 and began work as a stenographer for the secretary of the Richmond Chamber of Commerce. She also worked as a secretary and typist for the R. B. Chaffin real estate firm. These jobs helped pay for classes at the Art Club of Richmond, whose small membership was drawn from Richmond's socially prominent families. Despite their financial difficulties, the Clarks were among this group. Their status was evident in the Richmond newspaper society columns of the time, where there were numerous mentions of Clark family members attending teas, dances, and other social events. It was in this social milieu that Clark was afforded opportunities

ADÈLE CLARK

Participating in a women's suffrage rally in Capitol Square, Richmond, 1915. Courtesy of Special Collections and Archives, James Branch Cabell Library, VCU Libraries.

ADÈLE CLARK

At her desk at the Federal Art Project, 1941.

Courtesy of Special Collections and Archives, James Branch Cabell Library, VCU Libraries.

to meet individuals of influence in Richmond. These connections would serve Clark well as she began her career as an art instructor and with her work as a political reformer.

Established in 1895, the Art Club of Richmond's chief benefactor and its longtime president was Major James H. Dooley, a highly successful businessman and lawyer. Dooley was part of a generation of Confederate veterans in Virginia who by the end of the nineteenth century were the business, political, and social leaders of their communities. For many whites at the time, the culture of Richmond, the former capital of the Confederacy, *was* the Lost Cause. Confederate reunions took place regularly in the city, monuments to former Confederate leaders were being planned and built, and institutions devoted to the memory of the Lost Cause were established. The New South vision of industry taking hold and transforming the South was intertwined with the bourgeoning Lost Cause ideology. Wealthy individuals in Richmond such as Dooley were the living embodiments of these ideas. At this same time, the state's new constitution, adopted in 1902, effectively disenfranchised African Americans and many poor whites. Jim Crow laws, on the rise throughout the segregated South, were being implemented in Richmond and in the rest of Virginia. Long-standing cultural racism was codified into law as the legal separation of the races in all areas of public life further divided the city's population.

Clark and the many women she later joined with in progressive causes were all immersed in the prevailing Richmond culture. Clark even invoked some of these sentiments in a long promotional essay published in a Richmond newspaper in 1911 about the merits of the Art Club of Richmond. She wrote that the "New South is regarded by many as the most truly American, the least affected by foreign influences and immigration, and the least corrupted by un-American and undemocratic conditions of any historic part of our country" and that the Art Club would help promote artists from the South where "our heritage of noble ideals, philosophy and patriotism, from our environment, rich in beauty and color, from the native talent" could lead to a "national art."[5] Clark emerged as one of the leaders of the Art Club. She was, like other women in Richmond at this time, gaining experience in leadership through work in voluntary and community organizations. These women included those who often led the various Confederate memorial and monument associations. As one historian has observed, volunteer organizations "provided space for a new assertiveness and independence by white women and affirmed their class status through their own efforts, without the sponsorship of male or religious authority, and sometimes even in opposition to it."[6]

One of Clark's fellow students at the Richmond Art Club was Nora Houston, who happened to be the favorite niece of Major Dooley. She and Clark became close friends. They would have an association for forty years, influencing each other in their many shared endeavors. Some historians and others have spec-

ulated that Clark and Houston developed a romantic relationship. While they certainly were inseparable in their careers, their political causes, and their social life, no documents have surfaced that indicate that they had a more intimate relationship. The personal feelings between friends in longtime relationships are often complicated and not easily defined by those looking from the outside. Clark and Houston remained close friends until the latter's death at the age of fifty-nine.[7]

Clark and Houston's longtime alliance began in 1905 with the help of one of the new instructors at the Art Club, Harriotte Lee Taliaferro Montague. Montague had studied art in Europe and while there had become an acquaintance of William Merritt Chase, a noted impressionist painter who in 1896 began the Chase School of Art in New York City (now Parsons The New School for Design). In 1905 Montague arranged for a scholarship for Houston to attend the Chase School, by then called the New York School of Art, and the following year he secured a similar scholarship for Clark. While at the New York School of Art, Clark studied under Chase, Robert Henri, and other leading American artists. In an article about Clark in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* published just after her death, arts columnist Robert Merritt described Clark's approach to art: "While her oeuvre as a painter and lithographer covered the full range of subjects, she always preferred to be thought of as a portraitist. 'I'd much rather draw a picture of people than a picture of things,' she once said. 'People, if you like them, you want to draw them.'" Merritt further observed that "art for her had to have social impact. It had to say something about people and about the way we live. And, perhaps most importantly of all, she felt that an artist had to be involved in life. 'The artist who works only for self and keeps aloof from life is not likely to create anything really vital,' she once said."[8]

Clark stayed at the school for one year with the financial help of her uncle. While in New York City she most likely resided with her sister, Edith, who at the time was living there with her husband, Julius Deming Cowles. Clark recalled that "it was a very exciting year. I was appointed monitor of the class [and asked] to come back the following year, but I did not get back at that time because of illness." A year later, Nora Houston, who had gone to Paris, returned to Richmond, and Clark joined her in running the Art Club. "From that time on," Clark later wrote, "my background was divided between teaching art and painting and drawing and doing a certain amount of illustrating and lithographing."[9]

The Art Club of Richmond, located at 521 West Grace Street, blossomed under the direction of Clark and Houston. By 1910 they had opened an art school within the club and soon had nearly a hundred students. The club became a member of the American Federation of the Arts, which provided traveling exhibitions and advice on financial matters, a constant concern. In 1917 financial problems and internal squabbles among board members led Clark and

Houston to start their own art school, the Atelier of the Virginia League of Fine Arts and Handicrafts. The Atelier was the art school while the Virginia League of Fine Arts and Handicrafts offered exhibits and encouraged community participation in the arts. This ambitious undertaking succeeded, lasting for nearly twenty years. Clark and Houston offered classes in painting, book illustration, the making of bookplates and posters, spinning, weaving, toy making, and the restoration of old paintings. Their aims, according to a 1919 brochure, included "the banding together of artists," the "development of art appreciation," and the "co-operation of the community in an art movement." An eight-month course at the Atelier cost $140.[10]

The Atelier was located at 118 West Franklin Street in a row of brick townhouses called Linden Row. After four years, Clark and Houston moved the school a short distance to a building at 15 East Franklin Street. The Atelier remained there until 1929, when it moved again to a building behind Clark's house in Ginter Park. The Atelier was active through the late 1930s. Clark continued to teach drawing and painting in the 1940s and 1950s. As late as 1956, when she was nearly seventy-five years old, she was teaching an art class once a week. Clark participated in hundreds of art exhibitions during her lifetime. Her paintings, mostly portraits and landscapes, were exhibited in Richmond and throughout Virginia as well as in several other states.[11]

In 1930, thanks to the work of Clark, Houston, and others, the Richmond Academy of Arts opened in Taylor Row near the state capitol, at 1110–1112 Capitol Street. At this time Clark and Houston's Virginia League of Fine Arts and Handicrafts merged with the Richmond Academy of Arts and began offering lectures, classes, and numerous exhibitions. The Richmond Academy of Arts was an effort by Clark and others to revive what was probably the earliest art academy to exist in the United States: the Academy of Sciences and Fine Arts of the United States of America. It was founded in Richmond in 1786 by a Frenchman named Alexandre-Marie Quesnay de Beaurepaire. Quesnay's original building stood on the east side of Twelfth Street, between Marshall and Broad Streets, on what is now the Medical College of Virginia campus of Virginia Commonwealth University. His academy had only a brief existence and was destroyed by fire in 1798.

Clark sat on the board of the Richmond Academy of Arts and devoted herself to raising funds for it. She was instrumental in organizing an annual fundraising venture called the Beaux Arts Ball, an elaborate costume arts gala held from 1931 to 1933 at the Jefferson Hotel. At the 1931 ball, Clark went as Sappho, the ancient Greek poet born on the island of Lesbos, while Houston went as the French artist Marie-Louise-Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun. Despite these and other efforts, funding for an adequate building never materialized, and this second academy went out of existence. Its purpose was "eventually subsumed into the mission" of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, which was founded in 1936.[12]

In the first decade of the twentieth century, when Clark was establishing her art career, she also became concerned about women's suffrage and other social issues. "I think the first thing that got me interested in the suffrage movement," she later recalled, "was the question of child labor."

> When I was working in the clerical department of a Richmond insurance company a superior told me to sort out the applications from Danville. I asked, "Why Danville?" and she replied that they had to keep separate the children who might be working in the Danville cotton mills. I said, "Oh, do they get hurt by the machinery?" She said, "No, but nearly all of them die before they're about 15 because of the lint in the mills and we have to double their insurance rates." Looking over the applications I saw their ages ran from 8 to 12 and I thought this was one of the most shocking things I had ever heard.[13]

Before the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1920, only fourteen states, mostly in the West, allowed full suffrage, while some only permitted women to vote in certain, usually local, elections. Women in Virginia could not vote at all. There had been attempts by women in the late nineteenth century in Virginia to organize for women's suffrage, but they were short lived.[14]

It was in the spring of 1909 at the Art Club of Richmond that Clark first learned about the efforts of some Virginia women to organize on behalf of women's suffrage. Clark recalled:

> that a very active advocate of woman's suffrage, a Mrs. Charles V. Meredith [Sophie Rose Meredith] came up to the Art Club, of which I was a board member, and asked for permission to speak before the board. And so after the Art Club business was over, we called Mrs. Meredith in and she brought a suffrage petition for the Congress asking for a federal amendment for equal suffrage for women. I signed the petition. Miss Ann Fletcher, the artist who was teaching at the Club, signed it, and a young newspaperman, and possibly one other person. I have thought since that Mrs. Meredith really reaped a large crop, getting four signatures at one effort, when I had so much trouble later in getting the suffrage movement [word missing?]. Then there was an old friend of ours, Mrs. Jacob Ezekiel, who was in Washington with the National Suffrage Association, and she wrote me a letter, noticing my name and asking me to become a little more active in the movement.[15]

Later that year, on November 20, 1909, Clark and seventeen other women met at the Richmond home of Anne Clay Crenshaw to organize what would become Virginia's largest and most influential women's suffrage organization, the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia (ESL).[16] The same group of women met again one week later to adopt a constitution and by-laws and elect officers and members of the board of directors. Lila Meade Valentine was elected president. Meredith, the woman who circulated the suffrage petition at the Art Club of

Richmond, was elected first vice president. In a few short years, she would leave the ESL and join the Virginia branch of Alice Paul's National Women's Party, an organization considered too radical by most ESL members. The well-known novelist Ellen Glasgow was elected third vice president. Clark was named recording secretary. She took the minutes for that first meeting using shorthand, a skill she learned as a stenographer. Houston quickly joined the ESL and became an active member.

The ESL became affiliated with the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), which concentrated its efforts on passing the Nineteenth Amendment. Organizing local chapters across the state, educating, and recruiting became the primary focus of the ESL during its first few years. Local chapters were organized around the state. The ESL's long-term objective was to gain support among the public and legislators to amend the state constitution to allow women to vote. Members of the ESL thought correctly that advocating for a federal amendment would face fierce opposition in Virginia, but even a state amendment garnered little political support in the Virginia General Assembly. A vast majority of legislators opposed extending the vote to women. For many Virginians, the very idea of women voting contradicted the traditional roles of men and women in society. Opponents also encouraged the fear of many whites that if women were given the right to vote, the votes of black women would upset the balance of power in Virginia and throughout the South. The ESL faced an uphill battle from the start.[17]

Valentine served as head of the ESL for ten years. She was a "seasoned veteran of women's voluntary associations with connections to the many Progressive Era reform movements then making their way into Richmond" and "ruled the ESL with an iron will, stamping out dissent and purging opposition within its ranks."[18] Clark greatly admired Valentine and shared her dislike of the more radical suffragettes, whether they were British or American. Years later, in interviews about her work in the ESL, Clark often emphasized the distinction between "suffragists" and "suffragettes." She would insist that the ESL were suffragists and that their activities in Virginia were "quieter and more educational" and that they worked "within the system." In a filmed interview for a 1978 BBC documentary on the fight for women's suffrage, Clark elaborated on her view that the suffragettes "were the ones who worked as much for publicity as possible and didn't care too much whether they obstructed their creed, but we . . . the suffragists were very careful to try to be well within the border of propriety and legality." She added that "later I fell into the habit of more and more condemning the English suffragette tactics when they began to be used in the United States. I found them very objectionable. I believe in getting publicity for a movement we're interested in but I don't believe in doing it at the expense of propriety."[19]

Not long after organizing, the ESL suffragists began to distribute literature and to speak out in public. They took "their message to schools, fairs, union meetings, and city streets" and soon "the Richmond [branch] league membership had climbed to 290 and four newly established branches boasted more than a hundred recruits."[20] Working together, Clark and Houston had a unique method of gathering crowds. They would set up easels on Richmond's downtown street corners and begin drawing with chalk on rolls of paper. "Lots of people made speeches," Clark said. "But we were the only ones sketching."[21] "The drawings focused on the theme that women needed the vote in order to have a voice in the conduct of the world," Clark explained. "I remember I used the theme of Illumination in one series. I drew sketches showing how from earliest times it had been woman's job to keep the home lighted—from torches in the caves to Greek lamps and kerosene lamps. Then I showed how when gas and electricity came in, women lost control over lighting of the house to the city and government. The idea was that everything had been taken out of woman's hands and therefore she needed to vote."[22] Once an audience had gathered, Clark and Houston would talk about suffrage. Clark said that most would listen politely, although on one occasion a movie theater manager complained that they were stealing his patrons and they were asked to move to another street corner.

Clark and Houston's artistic skills were highlighted in a 1918 issue of the *Woman Citizen*, the leading suffrage weekly magazine in the country. The magazine published a photo of a parade float sponsored by the Richmond league of the ESL that had been decorated by Clark and Houston. The float was part of a World War I victory parade in Richmond that depicted the "Barge of State with Victory" at the prow. The "boat" was occupied by children in costumes representing "the extensive war service work being done by the League in conservation, Red Cross, Liberty Loan and food production."[23]

The ESL advocated for more than just women's suffrage. Clark would later say that they never considered women's access to the ballot as the end of their work. At their 1912 annual convention the ESL adopted resolutions supporting the eight-hour workday and the abolishment of child labor and issued a call for international peace. The ESL also demanded equal educational opportunities for women from "kindergarten through the university."[24]

Members of the ESL did not disavow white supremacy, which was one of the key arguments that antisuffragists in Virginia used in opposing women's suffrage. In the early years of the movement, the ESL ignored the topic. As time passed, however, the antisuffragists increased the intensity of their rhetoric about the threat that women's suffrage posed to white supremacy. By 1915 the ESL began to respond with pamphlets and fliers that asserted that women's suffrage would not alter the status quo restricting "negro" votes, whether for men or women. By the late 1910s many members of the ESL, including Clark, sup-

ported the continuation of white supremacy in their speeches, pamphlets, and newspaper columns—all in an effort to advance the cause of women's suffrage.[25]

Clark left her ESL post as recording secretary in March 1911. She moved on to a new role within the movement as lobbyist and spokesperson. She organized suffrage rallies and went on speaking tours that helped establish new league chapters throughout the state. Clark was also a prolific writer of essays on suffrage, which were published by the ESL and in Virginia newspapers. One such piece, which appeared in the March 11, 1912, issue of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, was republished as a pamphlet later that year under the title "Facts vs. Fallacies: Anti-suffrage Allegations Refuted, a Reply to Miss Molly Elliot Seawell." Seawell, a popular Virginia novelist, had written an essay titled "Woman Should Not Vote" that was published in the same newspaper one month earlier, February 15, 1912. Seawall claimed that suffragists were radicals supported by socialists. She argued that in four of the western states where women could already vote, laws had been enacted that harmed women financially, especially in regard to property rights and in relations between a husband and wife. In her response, Clark contended that states that allowed women the vote had actually enacted laws that benefited women because voting women were participants in the legislative dialogue. Clark concluded her essay by comparing the quality of life in states with women's suffrage to Virginia. "Children, the aged, the infirm, and the dependent are better protected" in states with women's suffrage, she wrote, and women are better off "educationally and economically" than Virginia women. Throughout the 1910s, Clark was one of ESL's most active members. She served as delegate to several of the NASWA annual conventions and was a member of the ESL Executive Committee and the Richmond branch of the ESL. In 1919 she became chair of the important ratification committee. As head of the ESL lobby to the General Assembly, she helped Valentine coordinate the organization's legislative efforts.

Clark already had one noted success in the legislature with the establishment of the Virginia Arts Commission in 1916. The story of that achievement was recounted by Clark in an unpublished essay she wrote the year she left the Arts Commission after serving from 1941 to 1964. In 1914 Kate Pleasants Minor, assistant state librarian and an ESL member, invited Houston and Clark to her office on Capitol Square "to discuss the establishment of an Art Commission." "She told us that gifts and bequests of paintings and sculpture were being made to the State, and there was no state agency with authority to pass judgment on the merits or appropriateness of such gifts. . . . We received Mrs. Minor's suggestion with enthusiasm, wrote the American Federation of Arts, of which the Art Club was an affiliate, for a model law, and arranged for the drafting of a law and had it introduced in the General Assembly [in 1914.]" This was the first piece of legislation that Clark and Houston had ever been involved with, beyond their work with the ESL, and it took two years before the bill to establish the commis-

sion passed the Senate and its fate fell to the House of Delegates. When the bill was in its third reading in the House, where it could pass as part of a block with other bills if there was no objection, Clark recalled the drama of the moment:

> Nora and I were sitting in the Gallery in the House intent on the Calendar—when our Bill was called. A member rose and said "I object." All seemed lost. Then Mr. [James H.] Price as Patron [of the bill] spoke: "I hope the gentleman will withdraw his objection. This Bill is not a controversial matter. It carries no appropriation. And there are two ladies in the Gallery who are deeply interested in it." To our embarrassment all the members—or so it seemed to us—turned and looked at us as we sat frozen. Apparently we did not look dangerous or perhaps, having voted down the suffrage proposals, the gentleman who objected felt he would like to offer us some appeasement. He withdrew his objection, and the Art Commission became a law.[26]

Members of the Virginia Arts Commission would evaluate a large variety of art that was either donated or purchased for buildings owned by the commonwealth. This included everything from approving architectural plans for state college campuses to appraising the artistic merits of hundreds of paintings, sculptures, and other works of art.

Clark's role in establishing the Virginia Arts Commission was her first successful experience in working with legislators. Unfortunately, that work did not translate into success in fully advancing the ESL's efforts in the General Assembly. State leaders found it much easier to support the arts in Virginia than to take on the complex issues of race and political power associated with women's suffrage. Resolutions to amend the Virginia constitution to allow women's suffrage were introduced in the House of Delegates in three consecutive legislative sessions, 1912, 1914, and 1916. While the number of legislators who supported these efforts increased, the bills were never voted out of the House. By this time the ESL decided to give up on the state amendment and throw all their efforts behind the federal one. Clark recalled that "ratifying a federal amendment on suffrage was extremely difficult."

> There was a dear old Confederate soldier, a Mr. Young, in the House of Delegates, who had been one of our staunchest supporters. But when we went to him to ask him to vote for ratification of the amendment, he said, "Ladies, you cannot expect me to vote for anything federal. I still bear in my body a wound I received in Chancellorsville, and I would not vote for the federal government to do anything about the electorate." So we lost him. And of course there was the prejudice that still is evident about federal things in many of the southern states. So Virginia did not ratify the Nineteenth Amendment.[27]

Although the assembly rejected the federal amendment on February 12, 1920, women's suffrage came to Virginia with the ratification of the Nineteenth

Amendment to the U.S. Constitution on August 20, 1920, with Tennessee the thirty-sixth state to approve the amendment. Anticipating the amendment's passage, the ESL had already begun efforts at citizen education for women in the state. These efforts included basic training on how to register to vote and cast ballots.[28]

Following passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, Virginia women had only one month to register to vote in the upcoming elections in November 1920. The issue of race, which had played a significant role in the battle for suffrage, continued to be a concern for some. Newspapers ran articles noting the large number of women, black and white, who were registering to vote. The fear of the "negro" voter dominated the headlines and editorials of Virginia newspapers. Clark recalled that "the colored women had the most trouble with registering."

> There had been so much of that sort of thing: "If you get the vote, what about the Negro woman?" But we had some wonderful Negro leaders, and there was one in Richmond named Ora [Brown] Stokes, the wife of a colored clergyman. And she organized the colored women and taught them to register. But the City Hall here in Richmond registered the colored women separately from the white, down in the basement. And they worked out all sorts of things of having their hours shorter than the white women. We white women had a big fight with the electoral board, insisting on their giving the Negro women the same privilege of hours for election.

The state's press relentlessly focused on the race issue as Virginia women began to register to vote. "They brought out everything that they could of Reconstruction, and they wrote outrageous editorials," Clark remembered. She and Houston decided they needed to do something as "we were really afraid there'd be riots of sorts."

> As we didn't dare ask them to the Equal Suffrage League—this was before the League of Women Voters was organized—because we would have been accused of trying to get the Negro vote out, we took advantage of being artists, always considered a little erratic. So we had a group of the colored women come to our studio one night to talk over the whole situation with them, and to tell them that the men had been just as much afraid of our voting as they had been of their voting, but we wanted to assure them of our friendship.

On election day, Clark and several other members of the ESL drove through the city and "visited all the Negro polling places just to see if everything was going quietly. And everything went quite quietly; in spite of the fact that there had been threats of bloodshed and riot and everything else, there wasn't any rioting."[29]

Clark made another effort to reach out to the African American community at this time. On November 20, 1920, she phoned Maggie L. Walker, president of the Saint Luke Penny Savings Bank and perhaps the most respected leader in

Richmond's black community, about a "plan of Citizenship." Clark's phone call is mentioned in an entry in Walker's diary, but the diary did not indicate any follow-up, nor is there any mention of this communication in any known Clark records or interviews.[30] Clark's phone call to Walker occurred just ten days after the ESL officially became the Virginia League of Women Voters (VLWV). Like many state suffrage organizations, the ESL had begun planning months earlier for this transition. On November 10, 1920, the group met to officially organize at the Virginia state capitol. Lila Valentine had been in ill health for some time and was elected honorary chairman. She died the following year. Clark was elected first chairman and then became president in 1921."I was elected President of the Virginia League, almost again by default because so few people were willing to take it," she later said.[31]

Clark held the position of president of the VLWV for nineteen years, 1921 through 1925 and then from 1929 through 1944. When not serving as president of the Virginia league, she worked for the National League of Women Voters (NLWV). In 1924 Clark was elected to the board of the NLWV as director of the Third Region, which included Washington, D.C., Virginia, and six other southern states. From 1925 until the spring of 1928 she was second vice president of the NLWV. Clark volunteered her time and received no salary for her work with the league.

The 1920s and 1930s were some of the busiest years of Clark's life. They began with her role as president of the VLWV and ended with her work as head of the Virginia Federal Arts Project for the Work Projects Administration (WPA). In between she served on two important state government commissions and continued teaching art at the Atelier. All of these roles brought with them requirements to travel throughout Virginia and the country. Her work with the NLWV included a speaking tour that took her to twenty-four states. She also attended three Democratic Party national conventions. She was so busy that once when someone phoned the Clark household asking for her, Clark's mother informed the caller, "I don't know where Adèle is. She's out saving the world, but she'll be back for supper."[32]

Under Clark's leadership in the 1920s, the VLWV acted as a major reform organization.[33] The league worked for the creation of a Children's Code Commission to advance reform legislation dealing with children. As a result, in 1922 eighteen laws that had been sponsored by the Children's Code Commission and the VLWV were passed by the General Assembly. These laws limited child labor, supported compulsory education, and established a statewide court system for juveniles. This was considered a "legislative coup and remained one of the League's crowning achievements; it epitomized all that the VLWV represented and was founded to accomplish." This impressive work by the VLWV continued throughout the 1920s. In 1925 legislation to improve tax administration and a bill to create a uniform fiscal year for the commonwealth passed successfully.

Other legislation that did not pass but for which the VLWV advocated included civil service and county government reform.[34]

While they were not always successful in their legislative efforts, the VLWV and other women's groups in Virginia now had the ear of government officials, legislators, and governors. The VLWV's work was part of a larger effort by the NLWV, for whom Clark served as second vice president. In a speech given at the seventh annual LWV convention in 1926 titled "Seeing the Program Whole," Clark said that the legislative program of the LWV "is a recognition that the vote in women's hands is both [an] opportunity and a responsibility" and a "realization of the duty that comes with power."[35]

Clark was quick to defend the work that the VLWV had accomplished when she saw it threatened, as when Alice Paul, the head of the National Women's Party, began pushing for an equal rights amendment (ERA) to the U.S. Constitution. In December 1923, when the amendment was first introduced in Congress, Clark "quickly and vociferously denounced" it, "maintaining that the bill would jeopardize women more than help them." A friend recalled that "Adele, on behalf of the VLWV, submitted [in 1924] to the Virginia General Assembly a formal denunciation of the ERA stating that the amendment would 'undermine legislation already secured for the protection of women in industry, and certain other types of necessary protective legislation.'"[36] The ERA failed in Congress in the 1920s. When the issue reappeared decades later in the 1970s, Clark would work to defeat it.

Clark and the VLWV moved beyond what the ESL had done in the area of race relations in Virginia. In 1921 the organization adopted a resolution to be sent to the then governor of Virginia, Westmoreland Davis, condemning the revival of the Ku Klux Klan and its methods. In that same year, Clark and Houston became members of the Virginia State Inter-Racial Committee of Virginia, chaired by Mary-Cooke Branch Munford. This group was the Virginia affiliate of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation based in Atlanta. In 1925 Clark became chair of the NLWV Special Committee on Inter-racial Problems, and the following year she represented the NLWV at the Interracial Conference of Church Women, held in Eagles Mere, Pennsylvania.[37]

Although she was clearly interested in a dialogue with others, white and black, on the issues confronting African Americans, Clark and other progressives were cautious when it came to the issue of race. "We never had the nerve to enroll the Negro women in the League of Women Voters," she reflected. "I've always regretted it, but we just couldn't bring the middle-of-the-road thinkers to the point of bringing the Negro women in. A number of us, especially Lucy Mason, went to groups—Negro clubs and all—and talked to the Negro women about civic affairs. And we made as much contact with them as possible. But we couldn't do very much about it because we were afraid of being accused of being carpetbaggers, so that we [Laughter] had to stay out of it to a certain ex-

tent."[38] Some historians would later criticize Clark and other women leaders in Virginia for not addressing the issue of race head on. If they had chosen this course, it seems likely that Clark and the VLWV would have lost political clout with moderate legislators in Virginia. A political movement for racial equality was decades away. Not even the federal government of the 1920s and 1930s was willing to enforce voting and other civil rights. White suffragists who had just won the right to vote believed they could not demand action in these areas. It may have been a "middling course," as one critic wrote, but it was the only road that Clark and others felt they could take at the time.[39]

As president of the VLWV, Clark's expertise and influence were recognized by government officials. In 1922 Governor E. Lee Trinkle appointed her to a two-year post as secretary to the Commission on the Simplification of State and Local Government. She was the only woman on the commission. She authored chapters on public welfare and on conservation agencies for the commission's final report released in 1924. In 1928 she was appointed secretary to the Liberal Arts College for Women Commission by Governor Harry F. Byrd, Sr. The nine-member commission advocated establishing a new liberal arts college for women in Virginia, "co-ordinate" with the University of Virginia but located in a city other than Charlottesville. Their eighteen-page report submitted to the General Assembly in January 1930 included a seven-page dissenting statement by Clark, who argued that the new college for women should be located "near or at" Charlottesville. That had been the goal of the proposed college by longtime supporters led by Munford.[40] It was not until 1970 that UVA finally opened its doors to women undergraduates.

In 1930 Clark, Munford, and other progressives were profiled in a magazine article titled "Liberals in Richmond," written by Eudora Ramsay Richardson, a Richmond writer who would later serve as director of the WPA's Virginia Writer's Project. Richardson wrote that "Adele Clark adds to clear thinking [the] courage to speak the faith that is in her. She can be counted on to sponsor all the progressive movements with which this article deals. If she has a fault, however, it is sweetness. Men declare that they find her easy to work with, which in Virginia probably means that she is rather conciliatory. Yet a reformer who always keeps her temper and remembers her manners has her place in the progressive scheme—such is Miss Clark."[41]

During the 1930s the VLWV's progressive political activities waned as the Great Depression changed lives and altered the role of government. Membership and interest in the VLWV fell as its leaders faced new financial difficulties at home. Clark was part of a generation of reformers from the Progressive Era who made the adjustment to the New Deal. It was her background in the arts that helped her make the transition. Clark found employment with two WPA agencies. From 1933 until the fall of 1935, she worked as a field supervisor for the National Reemployment Service. Along with the state reemployment di-

rector and other field staff, she assisted in the organization of local reemployment offices throughout Virginia. In 1936 Clark became the director of Virginia Arts Project, which was created to provide employment opportunities for artists in Virginia. Artists employed by the WPA produced hundreds of paintings that were distributed to local and state institutions for display. The agency also helped create art galleries in Big Stone Gap, Fairfax, and Lynchburg.

"I think it would be difficult to exaggerate the amount of good that came out of the government's work during those depression days, especially in the field of culture and art," Clark affirmed. "On the art project we discovered artists that we wouldn't have known about."[42] Clark's six-year run as head of the Virginia Arts Project ended with the agency's demise in December 1942.

That same month, Nora Houston, Clark's longtime friend, partner in art, and political ally, died at the age of fifty-nine. The importance of Houston's influence in Clark's life had been illustrated a month earlier when Clark officially converted to Catholicism after five years of study. Houston had been raised a devout Catholic and her faith influenced Clark's religious conversion. It is apparent in Clark's correspondence and in other writings beginning at this time that her religious beliefs played an increasingly important role in defining her activism. From 1949 to 1959 she served as the chair of the Legislative Committee of the Richmond Diocesan Council of Catholic Women and represented the council at numerous civic meetings and legislative hearings.[43]

In 1955 Clark was a member of a low-profile, short-lived, biracial organization that called itself the Conference Group. It was made up of about twenty Richmond citizens who wanted to formalize opposition to the school segregation efforts emerging in the General Assembly as a result of the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision announced the previous year. The Conference Group met monthly at the Glasgow House at One West Main Street, the former home of Ellen Glasgow, one of the founders of the ESL. The very existence of this biracial group was remarkable in 1950s Richmond. Members of the group included faculty members from Virginia Union University; Dr. Howard H. Davis, a professor at Richmond Professional Institute (now VCU); civil rights lawyer Oliver Hill; Dr. Rupert Picket, executive secretary of the African American Virginia Teachers Association; Dr. J. M. Tinsley, head of the Richmond branch of the NAACP; and local ministers, both black and white. The group's minutes, often recorded by Clark, show that they met throughout 1955. Minutes for the meeting on July 25, 1955, noted that the "meaning of the phrase 'deliberate speed' was discussed briefly." The group interpreted this phrase to mean "conscientious effort" rather than "hasty action." Records of this organization are limited, and it is unclear if the group presented their views publicly. Clark's involvement was another indication of her interest in working with leaders in the African American community on policy issues. The group supported the goal of desegregation in public schools; Clark's participation is the first record of her support for integration.[44]

The Stanley Plan, as it was called, to ensure racial segregation in Virginia's public schools emerged in a special session of the General Assembly in September 1956. The complicated plan maintained racially segregated schools by ensuring that any local school that tried to integrate would automatically be closed by the state. Separate legislation was introduced at this same time that aimed at restricting the efforts of the NAACP or any group that promoted "litigation or legislation on racial matters." One bill before the assembly would require organizations such as the NAACP to provide their membership lists to the state.[45]

Clark spoke at a public hearing at the General Assembly on September 6, 1956, opposing the segregation plan. According to one newspaper account at this time, Clark "proposed a racially coordinated system of public schools. This would involve racial separation by classrooms, but integration in terms of joint facilities, administration and special projects." The article said that Clark felt that "recognition of Negro leadership and consultation with state Negro educators might . . . bring about a more positive approach to the problem than has previously been taken." The article noted that it was the fight for women's suffrage that first brought her before the House of Delegates. Clark said, "Even then the argument was that Negro women would vote and so we shouldn't give women the vote. Just think, 40 years. . . . By now we should be able to face and handle the fact that we have a biracial society." The following week Clark spoke at a hearing at the General Assembly to oppose the legislation aimed at the NAACP.[46]

Clark tried to appeal to the moderate center at a time when most of Virginia's politicians and its white citizens were embracing the tactics of massive resistance. In 1967 she said that her efforts and those of the Diocesan Council of Catholic Women in supporting integrated schools "met a lot of criticism." She added, "I think we did a lot to show the people of Virginia that Catholics are not a group apart by our advocacy of integrated public schools."[47]

In the 1960s and 1970s Clark's large collection of historic papers and records of the various organizations she had participated in began to attract researchers and she began getting requests for interviews. As the feminist movement reached its peak in the 1970s, Clark was often profiled in Richmond newspapers as a pioneer for women's rights. Organizations acknowledged her long commitment to the arts in Virginia with recognition such as the Distinguished Service to the Arts Award given to her in 1980 by the Federated Arts Council of Richmond.

Clark remained politically active well into her nineties.[48] She was a staunch opponent of legalized abortion and the federal Equal Rights Amendment. In 1972 the ERA was passed by Congress and sent to the states for ratification. Clark spoke out publicly against the measure several times in the 1970s. As late as 1978 she wrote letters to members of the General Assembly and Congress urging them not to support it. The General Assembly considered the ERA every year between 1973 and 1982, but a proposal to ratify the amendment never made it

out of committee. Although thirty-five other states ratified it, the ERA did not receive approval of the required number of thirty-eight states before the 1982 deadline mandated by Congress, and the amendment died.[49] Clark's reasons for opposing the ERA in the 1970s were the same as they had been in the 1920s. In a 1976 letter to the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* she explained:

> Working for the vote was working for a tool, but working for the ERA is tearing down the structure of the law. The law recognizes persons as men and women, in most cases subject to the same privileges and duties, but in some instance subject to different rights and obligations because of their innate distinctions as men and women. Such distinctions are evident of the complimentary [*sic*] nature of man and woman, not the superiority of either one or the other.[50]

From the 1950s to the 1970s, many Richmonders considered the Clark household in Ginter Park a "salon" where Clark and her cousin, Willoughby Ions, entertained numerous visitors. Ions, often described as a "bohemian," had been an artist, musician, and fashion designer, spending the 1910s in New York's Greenwich Village. Ions lived for a time in Fairfax County, Virginia, before moving to Richmond to live with Clark in 1941. Ions had also been a member of the ESL and had, like Clark, worked for the WPA. One young visitor remembered that Clark, who liked to be referred to as "Miss Adele," smoked Herbert Tareyton cork-tipped unfiltered cigarettes and was fond of French brandy well into her eighties. Numerous artists, poets, musicians, newspaper reporters, and others were regular and welcome visitors to the Clark household. A number of young men and women from the Ginter Park neighborhood were constant companions and helpers to the two elderly cousins. Ions and Clark regaled them over sherry with stories of their past. Ions affectionately referred to these teenagers as her "Brattery."[51] Clark continued to live at her family's Ginter Park residence until the age of ninety-six, when she moved to the Westminster Canterbury retirement home. She died on June 4, 1983, just three months shy of her 101st birthday. Her funeral was held at Saint Paul's Catholic Church, and she was buried at Emmanuel Episcopal Church next to her sister, Edith Clark Cowles.

Clark was one of Virginia's most important and effective citizen activists. Her advocacy for state support of the arts in Virginia remains a strong legacy that clearly parallels her success in securing reform legislation and advocating rights for women. She helped transform the political debate in the state and the direction of its history. By reaching out to African Americans in the 1920s and supporting integration in the 1950s, she helped broaden the role of progressive reformers in Virginia. To Clark the concept of the "citizen," armed with the power of voting, was the key to improving society. As she stated in 1976 at the age of ninety-four, "Today, there are many things that men and women should be working for together, such as substituting negotiations for warfare, improved economic conditions and better health services. Be informed. The vote has been won—use it!"[52]

NOTES

1. Jo Hyde, "Personality Profile, Miss Adele Clark," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, September 16, 1956. Clark's legacy includes her role as a citizen archivist who during her long life compiled a significant body of records documenting her life's work and that of many others in Richmond and Virginia. Those records are available at several different institutions for researchers to examine. The largest collection, more than 130 linear feet of materials, is housed in Special Collections and Archives, James Branch Cabell Library, VCU Libraries. Two other Richmond repositories, the Virginia Historical Society and the Valentine Richmond History Center, also hold records donated by Clark. The Clark Papers relating to her work as director of the WPA's Federal Arts Project in Virginia are at the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. The Library of Virginia also holds collections with significant Clark-generated materials. This essay relied on these records, published and unpublished accounts, and other materials. Three oral histories conducted with Clark were especially valuable sources: an interview conducted by Richard K. Doud for the Archives of American Art's New Deal and the Arts Oral History Project, Smithsonian Institution, November 16, 1963; by Winston Broadfoot for the Duke University Oral History Project, February 28, 1964; and by the BBC in 1978 for the television program *The Long March of the Suffragists*, which is held at the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

Adèle Clark spelled her first name as the French do with an acute accent over the middle "e." The spelling was a reminder to others of her "New Orleans heritage." Edgar MacDonald, a close friend of Clark's, told the author of this essay that Clark often joked that after she died, she wanted an addendum added to her headstone that read, "Born in Montgomery, Alabama—but moved to New Orleans just as quick as she could." Personal communication with author, 2003.

2. Ruth Clark, born in 1878, died the following year. See the 1878 Orleans Parrish Birth Index, A–D, http://files.usgwarchives.net/la/orleans/vitals/births/index/1878biad.txt (accessed August 7, 2012), and *Ancestry.com*.

3. Bedinger (1853–1923) spent most of her life in Arkansas. In Mississippi, one of her art pupils was Varina Anne "Winnie" Davis, daughter of Confederate president Jefferson Davis. Information from online accounts including "Bedinger Family History and Genealogy," http://www.bedinger.org/henrietta-netta-gray-bedinger.html (accessed September 11, 2015). Robert Clark died September 26, 1905. The Clark house first appears in Richmond directories in 1912 and is listed as 714 Chamberlain Avenue with Edward Goodman as the only occupant. In 1918 the Richmond directory indicates for the first time that Clark and her mother were living at the house along with Edward. The directory of 1922 shows that the houses on the avenue were renumbered with 714 becoming 3614 Chamberlain Avenue. The Clark residence on Chamberlain Avenue was demolished in the early 1980s.

4. In 1905 Logan (1877–1944) married Albert Henry Morrill and later moved to her husband's hometown of Cincinnati, Ohio. "Marriages, Morrill-Logan," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, July 2, 1905. Clark's recollections about Logan are from an undated, one-page typescript written by her and found in the donor file of the Clark Papers, VCU Libraries.

5. Adèle Clark, "The Art Club of Richmond," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, August 20, 1911.

6. Marie Tyler-McGraw, *At the Falls: Richmond, Virginia and Its People* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 188.

7. Nora Houston, born on June 24, 1883, was the daughter of Josephine Estelle Dooley Houston (a sister of Major Dooley) and Dr. Henry Gibson Houston. Houston died at her longtime Richmond residence, 416 West Franklin Street, on February 20, 1942. Clark and Houston were born only nine months apart and were close friends from when they first met in their teenage years to Houston's death. They exchanged hundreds of letters over the course of their lives and many have been preserved in various archives. An example of their close friendship is a letter housed in the Clark Papers at the Virginia Historical Society. Dated August 20, 1925, the letter is eight pages long, typed single spaced on legal paper (some six thousand words) that Clark wrote Houston while the latter was on a trip in Europe. Clark began the letter saying she was writing Houston a "sort of backwards diary."

She then detailed the campaign for governor in Virginia in 1925 and numerous other happenings. On the second page she wrote: "After my phone conversation with you in Philadelphia, [I] felt mighty lonesome, and missed our midnight talks." It was signed "And now au revoir, Lots of love and kisses from . . ." But is this evidence of *romantic* love? Much of the correspondence found in Clark's papers between women, whether friends or family, is very demonstrative. Clark and Houston also never lived in the same public residence. The art studio they shared behind Clark's house in Ginter Park was a small building and not a residence. Houston lived for decades near Richmond's commercial district, while Clark lived in Ginter Park with family members until her death.

8. Robert Merritt, "Adele Clark Cast a Long Shadow," *Richmond Times-Dispatch,* June 12, 1983.

9. Doud interview, November 16, 1963.

10. One of those students was eleven-year-old Theresa Pollak, who studied under Clark and Houston between 1912 and 1917. In 1928 Pollak would establish the foundation of what became the School of the Arts of the Richmond Professional Institute, now Virginia Commonwealth University. Clark was briefly an instructor at the school in 1930, teaching art history and art appreciation. Another well-known Richmond artist schooled by Clark and Houston was Edmond Archer, a portrait and mural painter, who became assistant curator of the Whitney Museum and an instructor at the Corcoran School. For a detailed history of the Art Club of Richmond, see Laurel Hayward, "ARS LONGA VITA BREVIS: The Story of the Art Club of Richmond," graduate seminar paper for the VCU Art History Department, Spring 1997, held in VCU Libraries.

11. Clark donated her oil painting titled *The Cherry Tree* to the permanent collection of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in 1956.

12. For a complete account, see Harry Kollatz Jr., "Beaux Arts Ball: Richmond's Cultural and Social Luminaries Partied till Dawn for Art's Sake," *Richmond Magazine* 18 (October 2010): 192–191 [*sic*]. Information about the academy's history was accessed in August 2012 from the online finding aid for Special Collection 03 (SC-03), Records of Virginia Arts Organizations, 1888–1942, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts Library, https://vmfa.museum/library/wp-content/uploads/sites/16/2015/08/VMFA_Archives_SC-03.pdfhttp://www.vmfa.state.va.us/uploadedFiles/VMFA/Visit/library/VMFA_Archives_SC-03.pdf (accessed September 11, 2015).

13. Charles E. Mahon, "Adele Clark: A Woman for All Seasons," *Catholic Virginian*, December 22, 1967, 16, 15.

14. For more information about those early Virginia suffrage associations, see Sandra Gioia Treadway, "A Most Brilliant Woman: Anna Whitehead Bodeker and the First Woman Suffrage Association in Virginia," *Virginia Cavalcade* 43 (Spring 1994): 166–77; Emily J. Salmon and Edward D. C. Campbell Jr., *The Hornbook of Virginia History: A Ready-Reference Guide to the Old Dominion's People, Places, and Past* (Richmond: Library of Virginia, 1994), 64.

15. Broadfoot interview, February 28, 1964.

16. Crenshaw was the sister of Laura Clay, the founder and leader of the Kentucky Equal Rights Association.

17. Salmon and Campbell, *Hornbook of Virginia History*, 65–66.

18. Elna C. Green, *Southern Strategies: Southern Women and the Women's Suffrage Question* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 158.

19. See Clyde Wilson, "Miss Clark Reminisces, Art and Politics Do Mix," *Richmond News-Leader*, December 16, 1964; Edith Lindeman, "What Happened to . . . Miss Adele Clark," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, August 2, 1971; and the BBC interview, 1978.

20. Sarah Hunter Graham, "Woman Suffrage in Virginia: The Equal Suffrage League and Pressure-Group Politics, 1909–1920," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 101 (April 1993): 231–32.

21. Hyde, "Personality Profile, Adele Clark."

22. Mahon, "Adele Clark."

23. "Suffragists Open Spring Drive," *Woman Citizen,* April 20, 1918, 414.

24. Green, *Southern Strategies*, 161.

25. Suzanne Lebsock, "Woman Suffrage and White Supremacy: A Virginia Case Study," in Nancy A. Hewitt and Suzanne Lebsock, eds., *Visible Women: New Essays on American Activism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 79.

26. Unpublished three-page essay by Clark dated 1964, Clark Papers, VCU Libraries.

27. Broadfoot interview, February 28, 1964.

28. Virginia did not ratify the Nineteenth Amendment until February 1952.

29. Broadfoot interview, February 28, 1964.

30. The diary entry for November 20, 1920, reads: "November 20—1920—In office—pay Day—Calls from Miss Clarke, white,—political leader to plan the study of Citizenship." From the Maggie L. Walker Family Papers, 1920 Diary, Maggie Lena Walker, National Park Service, Maggie L. Walker National Historic Site, Richmond, Virginia. Gibson Worsham, architect, historian, and a friend of Clark, said that Clark had mentioned to him that her African American maid took her once to meet Maggie Walker at a church or social function. If this was the only time the two met, then Clark most likely did not pursue any additional "citizenship" work with Walker. Gibson Worsham, interview with author, Richmond, Virginia, August 10, 2012.

31. Broadfoot interview, February 28, 1964.

32. Cynthia Kennedy-Haflett, "To 'Raise Oneself to a Higher Plane': The Political Activism of Adele Clark, 1909–1980" (master's thesis, University of Richmond, 1989), 61. Clark's family was supportive of her efforts. Her sister, Edith Clark Cowles, was an active ESL and VLWV member after her return to Richmond. The Clark family claimed proudly that their mother, Estelle, was one of the first to register to vote in Richmond and voted in every election until her death.

33. Lorraine Gates Schuyler, *The Weight of Their Votes: Southern Women and Political Leverage in the 1920s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 6–7.

34. Kennedy-Haflett, "To Raise Oneself," 116–17; Anne Frior Scott, "After Suffrage: Southern Women in the Twenties," *Journal of Southern History* 30 (August 1964): 311.

35. "Seeing the Program Whole," address by Adèle Clark, delivered at the Seventh Annual League of Women Voters Convention, October 5, 1926, reproduced in *United League News*, November 1926. Early drafts of the speech are found in Clark's papers at VCU.

36. Kennedy-Haflett, "To Raise Oneself," 118–19.

37. An intriguing set of documents found in Clark's papers are drafts of a proposal for a "commission on racial legislation" to address the "widespread discussion and confusion existing in the State with reference to certain inter-racial bills now pending before the Legislature of Virginia, and there being a grave difference of opinion between citizens of the Commonwealth to these measures." These materials have Clark's writing on them. Accompanying documents suggest that this proposed commission was in response to the Racial Integrity Act, passed in 1924, and other proposed racially oriented legislation. These documents are found in the file labeled "VLWV, Interracial Cooperation Material, 1921–1928," Clark Papers, VCU Libraries.

38. Broadfoot interview, February 28, 1964.

39. For more on the race issues, see Lebsock, "Woman Suffrage and White Supremacy."

40. See Anne Hobson Freeman, "Mary Munford's Fight for a College for Women Co-Ordinate with the University of Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 78 (October 1970): 481–91.

41. Eudora Ramsay Richardson, "Liberals in Richmond," *Plain Talk*, February 1930, 217–18.

42. Dowd interview, November 16, 1963.

43. In 1967 she became the first Virginia woman to receive the Brotherhood Citation from the Virginia chapter of the National Council of Christians and Jews (now the Virginia Center for Inclusive Communities). See Jonathan C. Zur, "Honoring Inclusive Leadership for 50 Years," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, May 13, 2012.

44. The minutes for one year of this organization are in a folder labeled "Glasgow House," Clark Papers, VCU Libraries.

45. Hyde, "Personality Profile, Adele Clark."

46. Ibid. See also Mark Newman, "Desegregation in the Catholic Diocese of Richmond, 1945–1973," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 117 (2009): 356–87.

47. Mahon, "Adele Clark."

48. By the late 1960s Clark used a hearing aid and had lost much of her eyesight. In the 1970s she often used a wheelchair for mobility.

49. The Virginia Senate voted 24 to 15 to ratify the ERA on February 14, 2012, but it failed in the House of Delegates.

50. Adèle Clark, letter to the editor, newspaper clipping from *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 1976. The exact date of publication is not written on the newspaper clipping. From biography file, Clark Papers, VCU Libraries.

51. Clark's obituary in the *Richmond News-Leader*, June 6, 1983, says Ions began living at the house in 1937, which conflicts with other accounts. Ions (1881–1977) was the daughter of Robert Ions and Cecile Goodman Ions, sister of Estelle Clark (Adèle's mother). Worsham interview, August 10, 2012. See also "The 'Brats' Have a Mission," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, November 3, 1977.

52. Adèle Clark, letter to the editor, 1976.

Ellen Glasgow

Expansive Visionary

PAMELA R. MATTHEWS

❀ ❀ ❀

There was nothing obvious in Ellen Glasgow's origins to suggest her future as an important forerunner of the early twentieth-century rebirth of southern literature known as the Southern Renaissance (or Renascence). Nor was there much to indicate that she would spend her life as a writer trying to break through the boundaries of convention and cultural short-sightedness that, Glasgow believed, constrain human experience. Born on April 22, 1873, in Richmond, Virginia, to a stern Calvinist father and a long-suffering, sensitive mother of ten, Glasgow moved at age fourteen to the Davenport mansion at One West Main Street in Richmond, where she lived fifty-four of her remaining fifty-eight years. With the exception of one novel written while she lived in New York City from 1911 to 1915 following her sister's death, Glasgow's twenty published novels, her collection of short stories (published in the United States and in England under separate titles), and her one book of poems, along with book reviews, essays, and personal and professional letters, were all produced at One West Main. She died at home on November 21, 1945, less than two weeks after a fourth heart attack.[1]

At first glance, Glasgow's virtually lifelong residence in one house may appear to suggest insularity or even a disinclination for risk taking. Given her childhood and coming of age in the South at the end of Reconstruction—particularly in the former capital of the Confederacy—Glasgow's apparent penchant for staying put might lead to the understandable conclusion that she fit easily into the same category as many other well-to-do southerners who sought to avoid the realities of post–Civil War southern life, with its poverty, racial strife, and collective identity crisis in a reintegrated United States of America.[2] This incomplete perspective from outside the house at One West Main, however, fails

ELLEN GLASGOW, C. LATE 1890S

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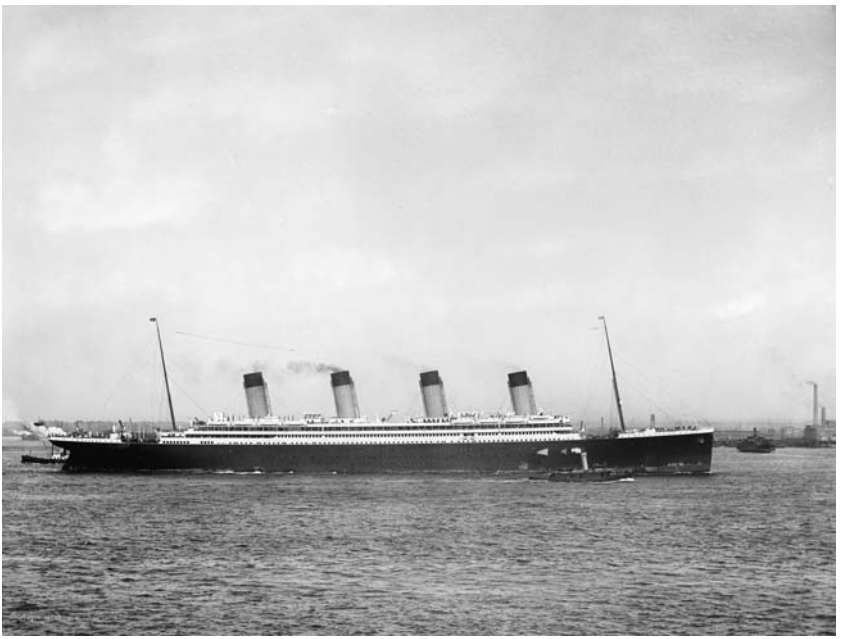

THE SS *OLYMPIC*

Arriving in New York for the first time in June 1911. Glasgow traveled to Europe on the *Olympic*, the luxurious sister ship of the *Titanic*, in 1927 on one of the most important trips of her life.

to account for one of Ellen Glasgow's most significant contributions to Virginia and southern life and literature: her lifelong effort, expressed in her personal actions and her writings, to break free from what she called "this great big conventional universe" of confined spaces. Those spaces were the literal ones of her home, her region, and her nation, as well as the symbolic ones of cultural expectation, human limitation, and individual or collective self-conception.[3] Her expansive vision shares characteristics with iconoclasm, rebellion, and individual self-expression, qualities that Glasgow accepted and readers consistently have attributed to her, but it encompasses more than these. She was not merely a rebel, in other words, although this term has been applied to Glasgow ubiquitously, even by Glasgow herself.

Rather than being reactive, as rebelliousness by definition is, Glasgow's expansive vision sought actively to engage the question of what it means to be fully human in its broadest sense. Glasgow sought new and larger perspectives gained through reading, writing, and connections to intellectual and literary circles; through nature; through identification with human and nonhuman creatures, especially those who often are ignored or unheard; and through traveling to new places that broadened her views. Glasgow's belief that to experience life fully meant expanding beyond the confines of individual identity, engaging the world, and seeking to understand something other than one's self found expression in several ways. Most consistently, Glasgow's expansive vision was evident in her lifelong work with the Richmond Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA), her belief in the senselessness of racial divides in post-Reconstruction Virginia, her involvement with women's suffrage and feminism, her fondness for travel, and her literary philosophy and practice. Glasgow's vision of expanded consciousness—a state of being that opens individual identity to include others and serves for her as the defining quality of humanity—is evident in her account of a near-death experience late in her life: "It was a surrender of identity. . . . By surrender, I do not mean extinction of identity. I mean, enlargement and complete illumination of being."[4]

Glasgow's descriptions of her childhood, supported by extant manuscripts of her youthful writings as well as by the observations of others, suggest that she was precocious in many ways and inclined to philosophize. Her claims to have been self-taught, without even a rudimentary formal education, are largely true. She spent only a short time in school, although she proudly related her excellent performance on an informal college-level oral exam in political economy at the University of Virginia when she was about seventeen. As the eighth of ten children, Glasgow often was allowed to enjoy the relative solitude she sometimes preferred. Her mother's delicate health and death from typhoid in 1893, when Glasgow was twenty, combined with her father's patriarchal remoteness (and, by some accounts, his philandering), no doubt were hard on the family, but they also often left Glasgow to her own amusements, including reading, writing, and

spending time outdoors with animals and trees, which she gave human names. Her relationships with her siblings varied. Some died before Glasgow's birth or during her very early years; others she rarely ever spoke of. Her sisters Emily and Annie and her eldest brother Arthur, all her senior by anywhere from eight to eighteen years, seemed more like older relatives than siblings. Frank, three years older than Glasgow and with a quiet temperament that she admired, committed suicide in 1909 at age thirty-nine. Rebe, younger by just under four years, was a close companion; Glasgow called her "Shadow" because she was never far behind. Cary, although ten years Glasgow's senior, was a cherished friend and mentor. Cary's marriage in 1892 to Walter McCormack brought Glasgow another supporter who recommended and supplied books and encouraged his young sister-in-law's self-education through reading. Walter's suicide in 1894 and Cary's subsequent mourning were difficult for everyone, and Cary's death from cancer in 1911 devastated Glasgow. The loss of these loved ones—particularly when Glasgow saw many of the dead as sensitive victims of those who were hard-hearted or even cruel—no doubt fed Glasgow's sense of isolation and her identification with helpless creatures. Her deafness, which may have begun as early as about 1890, did not help her feel less alone.[5] It is no surprise that the protagonist of Glasgow's first published novel, which appeared when she was only twenty-one, often feels isolated from others, as do a great many of Glasgow's subsequent fictional characters.

That first, anonymously published novel, *The Descendant* (1897), heralded a prolific and distinguished writing career that spanned almost fifty years and brought recognition not only to Glasgow personally but to the South in general and Richmond in particular as centers of literary activity. Beginning with one short story that appeared in print in 1895 ("A Woman of To-morrow") and *The Descendant* two years later, Glasgow never stopped writing and publishing. At the time of her death, her complete works (excluding those published outside the United States) included nineteen novels in print and one unfinished novel (published posthumously); one book of poetry; two collections of short stories; two collected editions with author's prefaces; an autobiography; a book of Glasgow's own essays on thirteen of her novels; and a large number of book reviews, essays, interviews, and speeches. She referred to herself in the foreword to *A Certain Measure: An Interpretation of Prose Fiction* as a "persistent novelist."[6] It would be difficult to argue with that label.

It was not only the volume of Glasgow's work that brought her recognition but also its quality. Her fiction sold well and was reviewed widely. Certainly by 1925, when her fourteenth novel, *Barren Ground*, debuted at number five on the *Publishers Weekly* best-seller list, held that slot for five weeks, and remained a best seller for eight weeks, Glasgow was a well-known literary figure. Each one of her five subsequent novels appeared on the *Publishers Weekly* list within the top ten, with four of them in the top three. In the *New York Times*

Book Review's inaugural best-seller list, published on October 6, 1935, *Vein of Iron* was number one in fiction, a position it held for four weeks. It was not the popular acclaim typically signaled by sales, however, that gave Glasgow her place among the literary select. In 1942 she received the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction for her 1941 novel *In This Our Life*. Warner Brothers released the film version, also in 1942, with a high-profile cast and crew that included John Huston as director and Bette Davis and Olivia de Havilland in the leading female roles. Glasgow also routinely published reviews and other commentary, especially for the *New York Herald Tribune*, including essays, such as one for Clifton Fadiman's collection titled *I Believe*, which was itself on the best-seller list when it appeared in 1939.[7] Although Glasgow did not have the kind of popularity that some writers can boast, her name was well known during her lifetime, and she often was asked to contribute to leading print venues as well as speak to high-profile audiences.

In addition to her Pulitzer Prize, Glasgow during her lifetime received other prestigious awards and honors for her fiction and also for her broader service to humanity. Among other recognitions, she was awarded the Presentation Medal of the National Institute of Social Sciences in 1916 for her services to literature and humanity; elected to the American Academy of Arts and Letters in 1938 (only the sixth woman to become a member); awarded the Howells Medal for contributions to American literature in 1940; and honored in 1942 by the Southern Women's National Democratic Committee for contributions to women's service in public affairs. There were two collected editions of Glasgow's fiction published during her lifetime: the eight-volume *Old Dominion Edition of the Works of Ellen Glasgow* issued between 1929 and 1933, and the elegant twelve-volume *Virginia Edition of the Works of Ellen Glasgow* in 1938, with its autographed and numbered copies, leather spines, and gold leaf. Other awards were more academic. She received at least nine offers of honorary doctorates, three of which her health allowed her to accept. She was invited to teach at the prestigious Bread Loaf School and Writers' Conference in Vermont in 1936 and to speak at the annual meeting of the Modern Language Association (MLA) in Richmond that same year.[8]

Glasgow's recognition as a writer also was evident in her literary relationships, some of which were personal as well as professional. She was known during her lifetime not only in her native Virginia and the South but also elsewhere in the United States, particularly New York, and in England, the home of many of her favorite writers. In Florida Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, an acquaintance and the well-known author of *The Yearling*, had begun work on a biography of Glasgow that remained unfinished at the time of Rawlings's death in 1953. Other well-known literary contemporaries routinely received or visited Glasgow. There are photographs, letters, and Glasgow's own autobiographical accounts connecting her to, among others, Joseph Conrad, Radclyffe Hall,

Thomas Hardy, and Gertrude Stein abroad, and in the United States, James Branch Cabell, Mary Johnston, and Margaret Mitchell, in addition to Rawlings. In contrast to her British connections, Glasgow's American literary relationships were as likely to be with writers in publishing or academic circles, such as Irita Van Doren of the *New York Herald Tribune* or Howard Mumford Jones, a prominent Harvard English professor, as with other novelists. Somewhat ironically, given her view that southern literature needed an infusion of innovation, Glasgow did not have a high regard for some of the more daring American authors of her mature years. She was especially critical of writers such as William Faulkner and Ernest Hemingway, seeing them as vulgar and opportunistic.[9]

Many of Glasgow's personal and collegial relationships featured a shared fascination with mysticism or spiritualism, which, although seemingly at odds with her realist aesthetic, represented one facet of her expansive vision. For Glasgow and several of her friends, a belief in something beyond the material world was an important example of enlarged consciousness. In a letter to her friend and fellow Virginia novelist Mary Johnston, for example, Glasgow wrote that she could "almost" see Mary's "soul" "shining through the delicate flesh," and that those she "love[d] best" she prized for "this spiritual quality." Nearly forty years later, Glasgow wrote another friend that she shared her enduring "deep interest in mysticism."[10]

In her autobiography, *The Woman Within*, Glasgow recounted an experience of trying to "lose" herself "like the mystics who had attained Divine consciousness through a surrender of the agonized self." "In a single blinding flash of illumination," she wrote, "I knew blessedness." Later in *The Woman Within*, she described a similar experience in the aftermath of a heart attack. She wrote that she felt "a sense of infinite reunion with the Unknown Everything," an "enlargement and complete illumination of being" brought about by escaping the confines of the self. Glasgow's literary characters often experience similar mystical moments of expanded consciousness. *Barren Ground*'s Dorinda Oakley has trouble making out even the words on the program for a piano concert, but once the music begins, the logic and significance of the words disappear and Dorinda's experience progresses from "sound into sensation" until the music becomes "merged and lost in her consciousness."[11] General David Archbald of *The Sheltered Life*, Ada and John Fincastle of *Vein of Iron*, and other characters similarly experience mystical moments of expanded consciousness that lead to life-changing realizations about the importance of an expanded sense of the individual in connection to the world outside the self.

The core expression of Glasgow's belief in an expansive vision that defines humanness was not mysticism or spiritualism, which depend on an otherworldly emphasis, but her powerful sense of identification with others in the concrete world of daily existence. The earliest memory Glasgow recorded in *The Woman Within* demonstrated (at least in retrospect) her childhood impulse to embrace

an expansive view of the human self. She began her autobiography with an early moment of recognition that "the universe [is] apart" from herself and can be confining, even terrifying. She described herself as feeling suffocated and vulnerable, "pin[ned] . . . to life, as a pin fixes a butterfly," and images of imprisonment and restriction are common throughout *The Woman Within*. Glasgow's solution to this confining self-absorption was an expanded consciousness with the potential to liberate herself as an individual from the suffocation or exposure that can characterize self-consciousness. In these liberating instances of broadening consciousness, Glasgow described breaking free to expand the self and encompass others, whether human or not. In her retelling, even as a young child Glasgow identified powerfully with a hunted dog and a threatened black man. In both instances, she experienced "that strange transference of identity, the power to suffer for something outside oneself."[12]

Often it was nature that drew Glasgow out of the confines of individual self-consciousness and into an expanded identification with the world outside herself. Comparing her love for her family's 485-acre rural home, Jerdone Castle, to love for a person, Glasgow described herself as "born a tree-worshiper," and she was explicit about the role of Jerdone Castle in shaping her "love for natural things." "Every vista in the woods beckoned me; every field held its own secret; every tree near our house had a name of its own and a special identity." Even injured trees inspired her sympathy, and it was at Jerdone Castle, closely associated with Glasgow's developing vision of consciousness as identification with nature, that Glasgow's initial sense of herself as a writer was born at the age of seven as she lay on the grass under a spreading elm tree.[13]

As an adult, Glasgow personally experienced a transcendent expansion of consciousness through absorption in nature while visiting the Alps, probably in 1905. Lying in the grass on a mountainside, Glasgow "sank into an effortless peace" and experienced "a union deeper than knowledge, deeper than sense, deeper than vision." She felt "part of the spirit that moved in the light and the wind and the grass," in "communion with reality, with ultimate being." Characters in Glasgow's novels clearly are drawn from Glasgow's own experience of a broadened vision brought on by intense communion with nature. Ada Fincastle of *Vein of Iron*, for example, finds her identity through a profound connection with the natural world, realizing that "her will" would continue to live on in "this forest enclosing this circle of bright grass. She would have this joy, this autumn sunshine, this stream, this valley, these mountains, even these leaves falling, these birds flying." *Barren Ground*'s Dorinda Oakley, arguably Glasgow's best-known protagonist, whose surname indicates her close connection with the natural world, rediscovers her purpose and is renewed through the land she has worked hard to reclaim. At the novel's conclusion, Dorinda walks outside and realizes that "the land which she had forgotten was waiting to take her back to its heart. . . . The spirit of the land was flowing into her, and her own spirit,

strengthened and refreshed, was flowing out again toward life."[14] Glasgow translated her own experiences of expanded vision through nature to her fictional characters, using them simultaneously to record her belief in the importance of broadening one's vision and to make the case that her readers should aim for their own broadened consciousness.

Expanding outward from her identification with inanimate nature as an avenue to an all-encompassing definition of humanity was Glasgow's even stronger identification with the pain and suffering of others, particularly dogs and marginalized human beings. She read social and economic philosophy—among others, she mentions John Stuart Mill and Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*—and her reading combined with her highly developed powers of empathy connected seemingly disparate causes such as animal cruelty, racism, class prejudice, and feminism. At different times in her life, Glasgow's activism on behalf of these causes led her to join the City Mission in Richmond, volunteer at a private Richmond charity called Sheltering Arms, label herself for a short time a "Fabian Socialist," and advocate for women's suffrage. Without question, her most passionate and persistent cause was animal (particularly canine) rights, a dedication manifest most obviously in her decades-long involvement with the Richmond Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA). In 1893, at age twenty, Glasgow became a member of the Richmond SPCA, one year after it was chartered. She assumed the presidency of the organization in 1924 and, in an action that demonstrates Glasgow's devotion to the SPCA in her home city, she named it a primary beneficiary in her will.[15]

At least as she recalled her early life, it was an instance of profound connection with a dog that gave Glasgow her formative identification with others' suffering. As she described the event in her autobiography, while sitting outdoors she heard "a scream of pain," falling rocks, and running feet and then saw a large, terrified black dog who, as it passed by, looked directly at her before fleeing on. Her vivid and lengthy description of this occurrence is striking as a way of explaining her advocacy of human-animal connection: "I run on. . . . I am chased. . . . I am seized and dragged away. . . . I have felt cruelty, and I shall never forget." Glasgow's identification is so complete that, as signaled by her use of first-person pronouns, she *becomes* the dog. This intense experience "awakened" in her a "passionate, tormented hatred" of crude power and gave her "a heartbreaking pity for the abused and inarticulate, for all the helpless victims of life, everywhere," and it engendered her strongly held belief that "cruelty is the only sin." In both her actual and her literary lives, dogs played a major role in expressing her broadened vision that includes human identification with nonhuman animals. From her own beloved pet dogs Pat, Toy, Billy, and especially Jeremy, to fictional canine companions such as Rufus (*Barren Ground*), William (*The Sheltered Life*), and Pat and Percy (*In This Our Life*), Glasgow learned that dogs can teach humans "more of the universal soul of things than the mass of

mankind will ever imagine." In her view, communing with nonhuman creatures expands our vision of humanity.[16]

It may be more than coincidental that the dog in Glasgow's early autobiographical memory is "black," given Glasgow's second powerful memory of identification with another's suffering, this time with the added recognition of her own powerlessness to help. A slightly older Glasgow recalled watching—significantly, along with her black caregiver Lizzie Jones—as an elderly black man was taken against his wishes to the almshouse. Glasgow concluded that "nothing I can do will stop them from taking the old man away. . . . Nothing that I can do will make the world different." A similar incident opens Glasgow's novel *Vein of Iron*, this time highlighting differences defined by class and disability. Young Ada Fincastle watches as a group of children torment a poor and disabled boy named Toby, when, "in a flash of vision it seemed to her that she and Toby changed places." Ada discovers her ability to expand beyond the bounds of narrow selfhood and to identify so strongly with another being that she thereafter defines herself as someone who "do[es]n't like to hurt things."[17] Through characters such as Ada, Glasgow gave artistic expression to her view that cruelty is wrong, and that to be fully human means being able to expand the vision of one's self beyond the boundaries of individual identity in order almost to become another. Expanded vision, Glasgow demonstrates, means identifying with others—even nonhuman others—who are different, and especially those who have difficulty speaking up for themselves.

Although many of Glasgow's cultural assumptions about race are typical of her time and place, her early identification with the suffering of a black man is an example of the complexity of her views. Growing up in a well-to-do family in post-Reconstruction Richmond, Glasgow shared with many the view that her home's black household workers were part of the extended family.[18] She frequently described her love for her childhood "mammy," Lizzie Jones, and years later she expressed "regret" about never teaching Jones to read, as she had once promised. Glasgow spoke of other family servants with admiration, and later in life she extolled the abilities of her personal household cook and driver, James Anderson, whom she included as a legatee in her will.[19] While she shared racist assumptions characteristic of her time and place, Glasgow also understood that an expansive vision required connection to others. A moving occasional exchange of letters with the granddaughter of Glasgow's mother's black caregiver suggests more than a perfunctory sense of obligation on Glasgow's part: she not only sent modest gifts of food and flowers when the occasion warranted, but she also quietly maintained a gravesite before the deceased family knew of her contribution. In her Pulitzer Prize–winning novel, *In This Our Life*, published in 1941, Glasgow included a betrayed young African American man—an aspiring lawyer—near the center of the plot. Her treatment may seem conventional to current sensibilities, but at the time, it earned her not only critical praise but per-

sonal thanks in the form of a letter written by an African American high school teacher who appreciated Glasgow's sympathetic views.[20] "Progressive" is too generous a label to pin on Glasgow when it comes to attitudes about race, perhaps, but the development of her expansive vision owed a lot to African Americans, as her early formative memory and subsequent experiences demonstrate.

Another outgrowth of Glasgow's sensitivity to the exclusion of others and a concrete example of her belief in an expansive vision of human existence was her advocacy on behalf of women. Partly spurred by her experiences in London, where support of women's suffrage was a widespread, active, and organized effort, and her visit to Colorado, where American women had gained the right to vote in 1893, Glasgow, like many accomplished women of her day, took up the cause of women's suffrage. She marched in a London suffrage parade alongside British writer May Sinclair in 1909 and may have done so in New York in 1912. Along with her beloved sister Cary and others, Glasgow in 1909 helped organize the first meeting of what became the Virginia League for Woman Suffrage, known later as the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia. Glasgow attended meetings, she says, until the time of Cary's death in late summer 1911.[21]

Glasgow also used her literary talents and influence to advocate for women's rights, publishing a suffrage poem, "The Call," in *Collier's* and *Current Literature* in July and November 1912, respectively, and again in *Current Opinion* in January 1913. The six four-line stanzas of "The Call," clearly written more to make a political than a literary point, theoretically reinforce Glasgow's attentiveness to the importance of connection with others: a refrain repeats the words "woman called" (or "calls") "to woman" in five of the twenty-four lines. The poem also contributed to the visibility of the women's suffrage movement in Virginia, which Glasgow's sister and many of their close friends actively supported. Following the publication of "The Call," Glasgow granted a high-profile interview to the *New York Times*. An earlier interview with Glasgow on the subject of women's suffrage had appeared in a 1909 issue of the *Jewish Record*. On November 30, 1913, eight months after the *Times* interview, an essay by Glasgow titled "Feminism" appeared in the *New York Times Book Review*.[22] As was the often the case, Glasgow's personal beliefs, her activism, and her writing were closely tied.

Having participated in one or more suffrage marches, attended meetings in women's suffrage circles in Richmond as part of the Suffrage League, published a suffrage poem, granted interviews, and created a sympathetic suffragist character in her 1911 novel *The Miller of Old Church*, Glasgow in her essay "Feminism" began to connect the women's suffrage movement to more philosophical or theoretical expressions of support for women's rights. The essay's opening paragraph refers not to women's suffrage but to a literary antecedent for unrealistic portraits of women's unsuitability for active lives. Arguing that women have learned to think inaccurately about themselves through false characterizations of women by powerful male authors, Glasgow makes the subtle point

that women need more than the vote to enjoy full social participation—they also must reject centuries of myth making: "Ages of false thinking about her on the part of others have bred in woman the dangerous habit of false thinking about herself, and she has denied her own humanity so long and so earnestly that she has come at last almost to believe in the truth of her denial." According to Glasgow, "what we call the woman's movement is a revolt from pretense of being" that has resulted from the "false thinking" bred by a history of others' low expectations. Many years later, ideas formed during her suffrage period continued to bear fruit as literary principles of theory and practice. "Some Literary Woman Myths," for example, published in 1928 in the *New York Herald Tribune Books*, contains many passages and ideas from "Feminism," published fifteen years earlier. In turn, Glasgow's ideas and language from these two essays were later revised as the preface to *They Stooped to Folly*, volume 6 in the *Virginia Edition of the Works of Ellen Glasgow* (1938).[23]

Ultimately, Glasgow's involvement with the suffrage movement served as a vehicle for articulating her broader philosophical perspective that recognized, beyond the confines of gender, the necessity for human sympathy greater than could be satisfied by any narrowly defined cause—even one whose goals she found sympathetic. As reported in her 1909 interview, Glasgow "considered the [women's suffrage] movement . . . not as a question of sex, but as one of justice, of right, and of truth." She regarded the issue of suffrage as "an inevitable sequence in the evolution of the political economy of the times." Glasgow's larger argument was not only about the vote for women but also about suffering and inequality represented by exclusionary politics: "By means of the feminist movement and the effort for equal suffrage we are wiping out class distinctions and class prejudices," she observed. Much later, in an essay for *The Nation* in 1933, she wrote that she "had come into the world hating cruelty" and yet saw all around her "the needless suffering of human beings and especially of animals." "The greatest discovery of the mind," she believed, "was neither fire nor electricity but the power to share in another's pain." For her, others' pain necessitated an expanded human consciousness that enabled identification with another, whether human or nonhuman. Glasgow's early hearing loss, and later her heart disease, may have contributed to her ability to identify so powerfully with the others' suffering.[24]

That Glasgow's activism on behalf of women's suffrage was stimulated initially during her travels abroad demonstrates the power for her of literally moving to another place. Readers have so consistently identified Ellen Glasgow inextricably with One West Main Street in Richmond, Virginia, that it can be surprising to discover how much she enjoyed leaving home. For someone with such obviously strong local ties—not only did Glasgow live physically in the same place virtually all of her life, but also most of her fictional settings are in Virginia—she traveled widely in the United States, traveling throughout Virginia and to

at least thirteen other states, and also abroad, joining the increasing numbers of white, well-to-do women travelers who began to go abroad in the nineteenth century.[25] Her older brother Arthur's residence in London allowed Glasgow to travel to England unaccompanied at age twenty-three, in 1896. Three years later, Glasgow and her two sisters Cary and Rebe made a seven-month journey that included stays in Turkey, Egypt, Greece, England, and France. And although Glasgow rarely discussed travel in the abstract, preferring to describe actual places and take actual journeys, it is obvious that leaving the comforts of her house, city, state, and country contributed to her expansive vision.

While traveling, this expansive vision became literal: she benefited from the broadening viewpoint that often comes with experiencing another geography and its alternative cultural contexts. Glasgow's first extant letter—she was not quite eleven—is primarily devoted to the travels of others, including her sister Cary, who had had a successful visit to Philadelphia. Among the most substantive of her earliest extant letters as an adult are those to her sister Cary, written from London and Oxford, England, on her 1896 visit to their brother Arthur. She immediately observed differences in fashion and manners and made comparisons between England and America. She embraced the change that characterized her travel, looking forward to moving to different cities, different hotels, and even different countries, as when she eagerly accepted her brother's friends' invitation to Scotland or embraced Cary's idea that the sisters travel to Japan, although that trip never materialized. Glasgow thus acknowledged implicitly that one of the reasons for traveling was to experience dislocation as an opportunity for self-knowledge. As she wrote Cary from London, "Knowing that if I didn't find out things for myself I might as well be in Henrico, Va.," Glasgow set out on her own and discovered not only the city of London but also her own capabilities and independence. As she wrote proudly to Cary, "Admit that I have done well to go about so independently."[26]

Glasgow's descriptions in her autobiography provide many examples of the relationship between literal spatial movement and the metaphor of broadened perspective that Glasgow often associated with traveling from one place to another, whether nearby or distant. For example, descriptions of relocation in *The Woman Within* are almost always accompanied by moments of expanded consciousness. As a very young child, Glasgow's "travel" could mean simply leaving her house and exploring the neighborhood and beyond, or the grounds at Jerdone Castle. The early pages of *The Woman Within* recount her identification with the dogs and men she witnessed being pursued in streets at a distance from her home. As a young woman, her consciousness-expanding adventures broadened to locations away from her hometown of Richmond, as when, according to Glasgow, she was the belle of the ball in Charleston, South Carolina, at age sixteen or was honored as an unofficial student of "distinction" at the University of Virginia the following year.[27]

The self-discovery that expands consciousness as a result of defamiliarization brought on by dislocation characterizes much of Glasgow's motivation for travel, whether that travel is defined as personal trips, retrospective accounts of them in her autobiography or letters, or even her fictional characters' movements to unfamiliar places. In *The Woman Within* Glasgow wrote of her childhood escape to the freedom of Jerdone Castle, where she discovered her identification with nature; of her first trip to New York, when she broke away from the friends accompanying her long enough to pursue her professional authorship by meeting with an editor; and of her move to New York City after Cary's death. All were instances in which she was motivated in part by her desire to be elsewhere in order to force some kind of self-analysis. As she put it, "I wanted only to lose myself in a strange place, where nothing would remind me of grief or of joy or of any life I had known." For Glasgow, discovering a capacity for independence could result in an expansive vision of the possibilities for self-determination through connection with an unknown inner strength discovered in unfamiliar territory.[28]

Unquestionably, despite her fondness for travel and her complaints about her native region's penchant for living in the past and resisting new ideas, Glasgow was and is quintessentially a Virginian writer. The settings for most of her fiction are Virginian, and many of the names for fictional people and places are borrowed from common locales in her native state: Amelia, Bland, Culpeper, Dinwiddie, Fincastle, and Louisa, to name a few. Her two collected editions point directly to Glasgow's regional origins: The Old Dominion Edition and the Virginia Edition. Beginning with her third novel, *The Voice of the People* (1900), every novel but two, *The Wheel of Life* (1906) and *Life and Gabriella* (1916), has Virginia as the primary setting, and many of these works were deeply engaged with issues of special importance to the state, such as agriculture, politics, and slavery and its aftermath. One novel is explicitly titled *Virginia*, and others are set in actual locales in the state. For her third novel and the first to be set in Virginia, Glasgow created the fictional Kingsborough, based on Williamsburg, Virginia. For her later trilogy, which Glasgow described as her "comedies, or tragicomedies" of manners—*The Romantic Comedians* (1926), *They Stooped to Folly* (1929), and *The Sheltered Life* (1932)—she invented the fictional town of Queenborough, a thinly veiled Richmond. She traveled to the actual destinations of her fictional settings, including Williamsburg (*The Voice of the People*), the Civil War battlefields in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia (*The Battle-Ground*), and Rockbridge County (*Vein of Iron*), in order to ensure authenticity. Her own characterizations highlight the importance of Virginia and its culture and history to her literary oeuvre. She described her literary purpose as chronicling Virginia's history, and she divided her novels according to their role in that history. Her fourth novel, *The Deliverance* (1904), is subtitled *A Romance of the Virginia Tobacco Fields*. Glasgow's retrospective framework for her

entire body of fiction is based on each novel's place in what she calls "a social history of Virginia from the decade before the Confederacy." In *A Certain Measure: An Interpretation of Prose Fiction* (1943), Glasgow omitted from discussion her work set outside of Virginia and the South, dividing the novels discussed into six "Novels of the Commonwealth," three "Novels of the Country," and four "Novels of the City."[29]

Rarely has Glasgow's native state or region gone unacknowledged in others' discussions of her work, either. Commentators on *The Voice of the People* were quick to praise Glasgow's "picture of modern Southern life" and its verisimilitude to Williamsburg, Virginia, and a review in the *Louisville Courier-Journal* addressed the state of Virginia, the "cradle of American romance," as its topic as much as it did Glasgow's novel. *The Miller of Old Church* (1911) was described as "far more than [just] a Virginia classic," *The Deliverance* as "a story of life in modern Virginia," and *The Builders* as "a story of Virginia today." With *Barren Ground*, wrote one reviewer, Glasgow "has written the first honest, realistic novel of the South." Even reviewers who wanted to fault Glasgow's work used Virginia and the South as their departure—on these occasions, because they felt she had abandoned her state and region. Reviewers of Glasgow's sixth novel, *The Wheel of Life*, for example, were pointed in their criticism of the New York setting, which Glasgow had abandoned after her first two published novels. One review complained that Glasgow "has been ill-advised in forsaking the Virginian background which has lent distinctiveness to her earlier work." A reviewer for the *Dial* wrote, "We are not altogether satisfied that Miss Glasgow should again have deserted her native heath," and another observed bluntly that "Miss Glasgow's stories of her native South were better." Even reviewers who did not complain explicitly about Glasgow's unconvincing portrayals of New York City implied their judgment that Glasgow should stick to her southern settings. One observed that she "has deserted the South, which she knows so well," another that she "forsakes the South and its sociological problems."[30] Even today, Glasgow is most often discussed in the context of southern literature, especially southern women writers. Almost any illustrated publication about Glasgow includes at least one photograph of her home in Richmond.

Glasgow's affiliation with Richmond, Virginia, and the South was not so complete, however, that she was unable to see them from a distant perspective that was sometimes literalized by travel. She complained on many actual and fictional occasions of the narrowness of southern attitudes, and she was sometimes exasperated by her region's resistance to new ideas, which she associated with southerners' bad reading habits, satirized most completely in her novel *Virginia*. The expansive vision that, for Glasgow, included a sense of fairness and identification with others and that underpinned her feelings about animals, race, women's rights, and her passion for travel had its greatest expression, perhaps, in her philosophy and practice of writing. As she matured as a writer, her early

"unavailing passion of sympathy" evoked by cruelty or harshness became more than a personal philosophy. It also became a philosophy of composition. In her writing she "revolted from sentimentality, less because it was false than because it was cruel. An evasive idealism made people insensitive; it made people blind to what happened." Throughout her fiction, but particularly in her three tragicomic novels of manners (*The Romantic Comedians*, *They Stooped to Folly*, and *The Sheltered Life*), Glasgow most fully investigated the potential for outside influences both literally and figuratively to broaden the horizons of her characters' lives and the social contexts within which they functioned. By showing readers the destruction of personal and social well-being brought on by the narrow-mindedness of an individual or of a communal vision that refused to see beyond its own boundaries, she invited them to adopt a larger view that encompasses the world outside one's self, neighborhood, city, region, or even country. Glasgow demonstrated to her readers the folly of failing to encompass an expansive vision. Revolt against inhumanity, sentimentality, and "evasive idealism" would become Glasgow's guiding principle as a writer and a key element of the expansive vision that included a deep understanding of all life and a sense of its interconnectedness. For Glasgow "the cruelty of children, the harshness of health and happiness to the weak, the blindness of the unpitiful—these were my terrors."[31]

The impetus for Glasgow's vision of an expansive consciousness that defines humanity by way of identification with human and nonhuman others has a still greater implication than the personal and the literary: it is also her vision for her region and nation following the divisive bitterness of the Civil War and, later, for her country as it grappled with foreign influences made palpable by two world wars. In one of her most often quoted but least explicated phrases, Glasgow said that what the South needed was "blood and irony": "Blood it needed because Southern culture had strained too far away from its roots in the earth; it had grown thin and pale; it was satisfied to exist on borrowed ideas, to copy instead of create. And irony is an indispensable ingredient of the critical vision; it is the safest antidote to sentimental decay." With her own twist on Otto von Bismarck's famous (and parochial) 1862 "Blood and Iron" (*Blut und Eisen*) speech arguing in favor of force to secure Prussian domination, Glasgow's phrase instead advocates connection to the earth, originality, and an ironic distance that enables both self-analysis and a critical understanding of one's culture. By adapting a foreign phrase advocating domination to a southern American setting and advocating peaceful expansiveness, Glasgow both acknowledged the intricate connections among nations and peoples and particularized them to her regional and national setting. As she wrote in a draft of her opening speech for the Southern Writers Conference at the University of Virginia in 1931, thanks to the "healthful diversity" of her fellow authors, "we are convincing even those who are not Southerners that the South is more than the South—it is part of

the world."[32] Glasgow's vision of an expansive consciousness was embodied by the Southern Renaissance in literature that looked beyond narrow constraints outward to the rest of the world. Ultimately, what Glasgow spent her life advocating—for individuals, for regions, for nations—was an expanded human consciousness born of deep identification with others. The South's inability to see beyond its own boundaries except through destructive lenses of disidentification with others, Glasgow suggested, had been and continued to be the South's undoing. No less than for Glasgow herself or the fictional characters she created, the South's necessity, she believed, was to broaden its horizons, expand its consciousness, and envision its inextricability from the world outside its borders.

NOTES

The author wishes to thank Ellen Desrochers for her excellent research assistance.

1. Glasgow spent her first fourteen years in Richmond at 101 East Cary Street until her family moved into the house at One West Main Street in the fall of 1887. She moved to an apartment at One West Eighty-Fifth Street in New York City following the death of her sister Cary in 1911 and returned to Richmond in 1915. For more on the house and Glasgow's Richmond, see Tricia Pearsall, "Ellen Glasgow's Richmond," in Welford Dunaway Taylor and George C. Longest, eds., *Regarding Ellen Glasgow: Essays for Contemporary Readers* (Richmond: Library of Virginia, 2001), 139–54. According to Glasgow, only *Life and Gabriella* (1916) was written away from her Richmond home while she was living in New York. See Ellen Glasgow, *The Woman Within: An Autobiography* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 26.

2. Patricia Yaeger, in *Dirt and Desire: Reconstructing Southern Women's Writing, 1930–1990* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), writes eloquently of the limitations of typical clichés of southern literary discussion.

3. Ellen Glasgow to Elizabeth Whiting, in Pamela R. Matthews, ed., *Perfect Companionship: Ellen Glasgow's Selected Correspondence with Women* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005), 14.

4. Glasgow, *Woman Within*, 289–90.

5. Ibid., 78; E. Stanly Godbold Jr., *Ellen Glasgow and the Woman Within* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), 28; Susan Goodman, *Ellen Glasgow: A Biography* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 38; Linda Kornasky, "The Invisible Stigma in Ellen Glasgow's *The Descendant*," in Taylor and Longest, *Regarding Ellen Glasgow*, 88. See also n. 24 below.

6. Ellen Glasgow, *A Certain Measure: An Interpretation of Prose Fiction* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1943), viii.

7. Keith L. Justice, *Bestseller Index: All Books, by Author, on the Lists of Publishers Weekly and the New York Times through 1990* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1998), 127. The novels that followed *Barren Ground* (1925) as best sellers on either the *Publisher's Weekly* or *New York Times Book Review* list or both are *The Romantic Comedians* (1926), *They Stooped to Folly* (1929), *The Sheltered Life* (1932), *Vein of Iron* (1935), and *In This Our Life* (1941). Glasgow's most successful novel based on sales was *Vein of Iron*, which was number one on both lists and stayed on the combined lists for twenty-eight weeks. *The Woman Within*, posthumously published in 1954, was on the *New York Times Book Review* list for two weeks at number fourteen. For the most complete discussion of the film *In This Our Life*, see David W. Coffey, "Ellen Glasgow's *In This Our Life*: The Novel and the Film," in Taylor and Longest, *Regarding Ellen Glasgow*, 117–26. For other writings by Glasgow, including the essay published in Fadiman's collection, see Julius R. Raper, ed., *Ellen Glasgow's Reasonable Doubts: A Collection of Her Writings* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988).

8. The most useful resource for Glasgow's contemporary critical reception is Dorothy M. Scura, ed., *Ellen Glasgow: The Contemporary Reviews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). For information about awards, addresses, and other honors, see the chronology in Matthews, *Perfect Companionship*, xxxix–xliv. In addition to Bread Loaf and the MLA (her illness during the latter necessitated that a substitute read her remarks), she gave the welcome address at the Southern Writers Conference in 1931, and in 1938 she spoke to a literature class at Columbia University. The eight-volume *Old Dominion Edition of the Works of Ellen Glasgow* was published between 1929 and 1933 by Doubleday, Doran. The more elaborate and elegant twelve-volume *Virginia Edition of the Works of Ellen Glasgow* was published by Charles Scribner's Sons in a limited, signed edition in 1938. The first college or university to offer Glasgow an honorary doctorate was Rollins College in 1935, followed by the University of Wisconsin in 1937 (Glasgow declined both). She accepted honorary doctorates from the University of Richmond and Duke University in 1938, but she turned down Goucher College. In 1939 she declined an offer from the University of Rochester. That year, she was awarded an honorary degree from the College of William and Mary. She declined the offers that followed, from Middlebury College in 1940 and Smith College in 1944. These were years of failing health for Glasgow, and it seems likely that her acceptances and refusals were tied at least in part to her capacity to withstand the demands of travel and ritual.

9. Rawlings's notes and other materials are in the Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings Collection, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville. Glasgow referred to Hemingway's "sophisticated barbarians," to contemporary southern literature's "goblin" as "Raw-Head-and-Bloody-Bones," and, in a particularly biting comment referring obliquely to an infamous scene in his novel *Sanctuary* (1931), to Faulkner's "sodden futilitarians and . . . corncob cavaliers." For the references to Hemingway and Faulkner, see Blair Rouse, ed., *Letters of Ellen Glasgow* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1958), 144, 154; for the general comment about southern literature, see Raper, *Ellen Glasgow's Reasonable Doubts*, 163.

10. Ellen Glasgow to Mary Johnston, February 3, 1905, and Ellen Glasgow to Signe Toksvig, May 21, 1943, in Matthews, *Perfect Companionship*, 19, 224.

11. Glasgow, *Woman Within*, 165–66, 289–90; Glasgow, *Barren Ground* (reprint, New York: Hill & Wang, 1981), 184.

12. Glasgow, *Woman Within*, 4, 8.

13. Ibid., 26, 51, 27, 36.

14. Ellen Glasgow to Mary Johnston, September 15, 1906, in Matthews, *Perfect Companionship*, 31; Glasgow, *Woman Within*, 166; Ellen Glasgow, *Vein of Iron* (reprint, Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995), 186; Glasgow, *Barren Ground*, 524.

15. Glasgow, *Woman Within*, 79–81, 185–87. For more about Glasgow's reading, see J. R. Raper, *Without Shelter: The Early Career of Ellen Glasgow* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971); Carrington C. Tutwiler Jr., *A Catalogue of the Library of Ellen Glasgow* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the Library of Virginia, 1969) and *Ellen Glasgow's Library* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the Library of Virginia, 1967). Glasgow instructed her executors to direct the balance of her trust fund to the Richmond SPCA following the death of her companion and primary beneficiary, Anne Virginia Bennett. See Godbold, *Ellen Glasgow*, 296–97, 296 n. 95; Goodman, *Ellen Glasgow*, 163–65, 246–47; Pamela R. Matthews, *Ellen Glasgow and a Woman's Traditions* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 207–8, 236 n. 38.

16. Glasgow, *Woman Within*, 9–10, 247. See Catherine Rainwater, "Consciousness, Gender, and Animal Signs in *Barren Ground* and *Vein of Iron*," in Dorothy M. Scura, ed., *Ellen Glasgow: New Perspectives* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 204–19, for a discussion of Glasgow's use of animals to convey "evidence of consciousness and subjective states unacknowledged by most human observers" (204).

17. Glasgow, *Woman Within*, 11; Glasgow, *Vein of Iron*, 4.

18. See Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988) for an analysis of plantation women's relationships within the "'family

white and black'" (32). For a discussion of this concept specifically with reference to Ellen Glasgow, see Jean Carol Griffith, *The Color of Democracy in Women's Regional Writing* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009), especially "Family Reunion," 73–98.

19. Glasgow, *Woman Within*, 25. The poet Adrienne Rich takes Glasgow to task for her attitudes about race. See Rich, "Education of a Novelist," in *The Fact of a Doorframe: Poems Selected and New, 1950–1984* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984), 314–17. For a brief discussion of Rich and Glasgow, see Pamela R. Matthews, "Education of a Novelist, Education of a Poet: Ellen Glasgow and Adrienne Rich," *Ellen Glasgow Newsletter* 29 (Fall 1992): 4–5. See Matthews, *Perfect Companionship*, for mentions of James Anderson in Glasgow's letters.

20. See letters to Ellen Glasgow from Agnes B. Reese, and Elaine J. Dean to Ellen Glasgow in Matthews, *Perfect Companionship*, 170, 179, 212, and 209, respectively.

21. Glasgow, *Woman Within*, 185–86; Griffith, *Color of Democracy*, 21; "Valentine, Lila Hardaway Meade," in Matthews, *Perfect Companionship*, 298; Catherine G. Peaslee, "Novelist Ellen Glasgow's Feminist Rebellion in Virginia—the Suffragist," in Taylor and Longest, *Regarding Ellen Glasgow*, 55–62; Dorothy M. Scura, "A Knowledge in the Heart: Ellen Glasgow, the Women's Movement, and *Virginia*," *American Literary Realism* 22, no. 2 (Winter 1990): 30–43. For a more recent discussion of Glasgow's fiction in relation to her interest in women's suffrage, see Martha H. Patterson, *Beyond the Gibson Girl: Reimagining the American New Woman, 1895–1915* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 125–51.

22. All of the following references are to Raper, *Ellen Glasgow's Reasonable Doubts*: Glasgow, "The Call," 18–19, n. on 18; "No Valid Reason against Giving Votes to Women: An Interview," 19–26; "Woman Suffrage in Virginia: Ellen Glasgow Interviewed," 4–18; and Glasgow, "Feminism," 26–36.

23. Raper, *Ellen Glasgow's Reasonable Doubts*, 27, 31, 36–45. Glasgow also included the preface to *They Stooped to Folly* in *A Certain Measure*, 224–45.

24. Raper, *Ellen Glasgow's Reasonable Doubts*, 16–17, 25; "What I Believe," in Raper, *Ellen Glasgow's Reasonable Doubts*, 219, 222. For insights into Glasgow's hearing impairment in relation to her life and art, see Goodman, *Ellen Glasgow*, especially 52–55; Linda Kornasky, "Ellen Glasgow's Disability," *Mississippi Quarterly* 49, no. 2 (Spring 1996): 281–93 (see also n. 5 above); Laura Sloan Patterson, *Stirring the Pot: The Kitchen and Domesticity in the Fiction of Southern Women* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2008), 40–79.

25. Ellen Glasgow, *Woman Within*, 185–87; Goodman, *Ellen Glasgow*, 114–18; Catherine G. Peaslee, "Novelist Ellen Glasgow's Feminist Rebellion," in Taylor and Longest, *Regarding Ellen Glasgow*, 59. William W. Stowe, in *Going Abroad: European Travel in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), describes the "booming travel industry" of post–Civil War America as the result of "an underlying economically, socially, and culturally driven demand for European travel joined with a new technology," especially steamships and railroads (8), and observes that the growing number of women travelers gave rise to at least three guidebooks written explicitly for women travelers (37). Mary Suzanne Schriber, ed., *Telling Travels: Selected Writings by Nineteenth-Century Women Abroad* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1995) reports that in 1866 fifty thousand Americans traveled to Europe (xii), many of them women, and the development of luxury steamship travel following the Civil War made it possible for women to travel "comfortably and in ladylike fashion" (xv). According to Schriber, women authored 195 of the 1,800 books about foreign travel published in the United States before 1900, a disproportionate number of them after the Civil War (xxi).

26. Ellen Glasgow to Cary Glasgow McCormack, in Matthews, *Perfect Companionship*, 2, 4, 12. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), in writing of nineteenth-century travelers' imperializing tendencies, observes that, in contrast to men's collecting and possessive impulses, "women travelers sought first and foremost to collect and possess themselves" (160).

27. Glasgow, *Woman Within*, 77–78.

28. Ibid., 26ff., 95, 194.

29. Ellen Glasgow, *A Certain Measure*, 211, 3–4. In a letter to an unidentified "Miss Patterson," Glasgow labels the trilogy mentioned earlier her "Tragecomed[ies] of Manners"; see Matthews, *Perfect Companionship*, 162.

30. Scura, *Contemporary Reviews*, 35, 38, 147, 200, 239, 100, 110, 107, 104, 105.

31. Glasgow's comments about her compatriots' resistance to new ideas and to southerners' bad reading habits were common throughout her life; as she says in *The Woman Within*, "Southerners did not publish, did not write, did not read" (105). See also Glasgow, *Woman Within*, 53, 62, 104.

32. Ellen Glasgow, *A Certain Measure*, 28; Ellen Glasgow, "Opening Speech of the Southern Writers Conference," in Raper, *Ellen Glasgow's Reasonable Doubts*, 91. See Glasgow's "The Novel in the South," in Raper, *Ellen Glasgow's Reasonable Doubts*, 68–83, for Glasgow's extended view of the South's relation to imaginative writing.

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Developing Leaders and Strengthening Communities

ANN E. McCLEARY

In 1926, as soon as she turned ten years old, Edna Hulvey joined the Jolly Workers 4-H Club that met at the new consolidated school in Mount Sidney, Virginia. With a little more than two hundred residents, this small town was "more or less typical" of Augusta County's rural communities, surrounded by "splendid farming, fruit raising, and grazing land," where most of the residents were involved in some type of agricultural activity. "I suppose somebody came around and wanted to organize the club," Hulvey recalled. "And of course I was interested, being a farm girl, and that's all I knew was my Mom home working and cooking and canning and sewing."[1]

Hulvey carried her sewing projects as she walked the mile and a half "through the pasture fields to get to school." She met with county home demonstration agent Ruth Jamison at the monthly meeting to get directions for the work she should complete by the next month. "We didn't get credits for it, but we got a lot of knowledge," Hulvey explained. She remained an active club member through her high school years, serving as club reporter and president and winning several county contests as well as a statewide clothing competition. The convenience of meeting at the school was one of the reasons Hulvey could participate. Her father, who worked as a farm hand, had only recently purchased a car, but he did not have time to take her to meetings. "You see, I was stuck back there, growing up in a great big lane. Sundays was about the only time that there was any free time at home. And you want to do something when you're young and ambitious. I just was interested in the school work and what I could learn in 4-H."[2]

Edna Hulvey was one of many Virginia women and girls who discovered opportunities in the new home demonstration program, part of a broader Progressive

EDNA HULVEY

The Mount Sidney farm girl won the Virginia 4–H clothing contest for this brown tweed suit in 1931, earning a trip to compete at the Chicago National 4–H Congress.

Photograph courtesy of Edna Hulvey Garber, collection of the author.

RUTH JAMISON WITH MRS. WARREN SHIFFLETT

Home demonstration agent Ruth Jamison talking with club member Mrs. Warren Shifflett, winner of the Porch Improvement Contest, on her front porch outside Waynesboro, in Augusta County. Ackerman Collection, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 33, 33SC-S14918C.

Era movement to modernize farm work and rural life in the early twentieth century. The home demonstration program sought to prepare rural women and girls for modern farm life by clearly articulating a role for women as educated, productive, and forward-thinking members of the farm family and urging women to play a key role in reforming family and community life. Virginia was the first state to introduce cooperative extension work for women in 1910 through the state board of education. While focused primarily on agricultural education, Virginia's program included some contests and instruction for girls. Four years later, the Smith-Lever Act established a national, federally funded cooperative extension service that required agricultural instruction for men, home demonstration education for women, and 4-H clubs for girls and boys between the ages of ten and twenty. The U.S. Department of Agriculture administered the program in partnership with the state land-grant universities: Virginia Polytechnic Institute (VPI) implemented the home demonstration program for white women, while Hampton Institute initially operated the segregated program for African Americans. Extension activities took place largely at the local level, with counties matching the federal funds and hiring county agents such as Ruth Jamison to interact with rural families, provide demonstrations, and organize clubs.

From its inception, the home demonstration program proved to be a negotiation between government agendas and the participants, female agents and club members, who sought to further their personal goals. Elite women often led the way by initiating the home demonstration program at the state and county levels, advocating for funding, and gaining state and local recognition for their efforts. Soon middle-class women discovered that a position as a county agent could blossom into a career that took them not only around the state but across the country. Rural women and girls joined clubs to fulfill personal needs and desires and gained increased status in their families and communities, earning recognition through their participation in local, state, and national contests and competitions and through their leadership roles in various extension organizations and activities. Girls in 4-H leveraged their club experiences to explore new opportunities and forge careers beyond the traditional role of farm wife.

Nowhere in Virginia was the home demonstration movement as successful as it was in Augusta County, located in the central Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. Here in this prosperous and progressive agricultural region, ambitious rural women and girls, from agent Ruth Jamison to 4-H president Edna Hulvey, used club work to expand their horizons, improve their social and economic status, and gain respect from their family, peers, and community. While Augusta County may have offered particularly fertile ground for the home demonstration movement, women with the same goals and aspirations as Jamison and Hulvey flocked to club work in a similar way in rural communities all across Virginia.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, Progressive reformers viewed what they considered the conservative, old-fashioned character of rural life as a problem that needed to be fixed. In 1908 President Theodore Roosevelt created the Rural Life Commission to identify solutions. Reformers argued that farmers needed to adopt new practices in agriculture to achieve more economic success and improve the standard of living on the farm and in the farm home. Progressives also believed it was important to improve the quality of rural life through increased educational opportunities for all members of the farm family.

That same year, the University of Virginia began an annual Rural Life Conference as part of its summer school for teachers, many of whom worked in small towns or rural communities and could potentially help improve farm life. In 1909 the conference added topics related to women, from cooking instruction to girls club work to making rural life more "attractive" so that rural youth would choose to remain on the farm. "Besides the class-room instruction, [rural teachers] have the rather difficult task of improving community life," wrote summer school director Bruce Payne. The idea that the "country life problem" existed not only in the fields and the barn but also in the farm home permeated the Virginia conference. "If country life in its normal condition is for the most of us the best life," Payne asked, "what can be done to make it a possible life for manhood and womanhood of the present and of the future?"[3]

State Superintendent of Public Instruction John D. Eggleston made the keynote speech on "The Possibilities of Extension Work in Virginia," which he described as "an intelligent effort to improve life—physical, mental, social, religious, economic." Virginia's board of education had hired the first agricultural agent, T. O. Sandy, in 1907. Eggleston now proposed expanding the extension program to include work with girls and women, based on what he described as successful efforts to organize girls and women into cooking and sewing clubs in several Virginia cities. Perhaps Eggleston had heard Seaman Knapp, the pioneer of cooperative demonstration work and current U.S. Department of Agriculture extension program director, recommend work with rural girls at a South Carolina conference earlier that summer. Knapp believed that "a well-rounded rural community" needed "all the people working for all the interests." The idea of involving women and girls was quickly gaining ground among Virginia's agricultural and educational reformers.[4]

Several months later, in January 1910, Ella Agnew, a thirty-nine-year-old Virginia native, wrote to Eggleston to ask about opportunities for rural girls. Currently serving as secretary-general of the YWCA in Ohio, Agnew had been talking to one of her constituents, who wondered if the "education leaders of Ohio had been fair to the girls of the rural districts." In her letter to Eggleston, who was also from her native Prince Edward County, Agnew asked how he might reply to that question for Virginia girls. "To my utter amazement," Agnew later wrote, Eggleston responded by asking her to return to Virginia to help

solve this problem. On February 1, 1910, Agnew began organizing cooking and gardening clubs in the Fourth Congressional District of eastern Virginia.[5]

Agnew's position was only temporary. Perhaps as an opportunity to jumpstart a statewide program for women, Eggleston organized a conference focusing on Virginia rural life for May 31, 1910. Virginia governor William Mann invited Knapp to participate, along with representatives from state agricultural and education agencies and farmers' organizations. The meeting also included three women "engaged in definite lines of work in county districts," one of whom was Agnew. Knapp presented his plan to organize girls' tomato clubs, asserting that "the direct object is to teach some one, simple, straightforward lesson to the girls on the farm, which will open the way to their confidence and that of their mothers, and will at the same time open their eyes to the possibilities of adding to the family income through simple work in and about the home. The indirect object is that of attacking this home problem on the farm."[6] Tomato clubs, emphasizing familiar tasks of vegetable cultivating and canning, thus became the window to begin home demonstration work across Virginia.

At that conference, Knapp, Eggleston, and Governor Mann interviewed Agnew for a full-time position as "State Agent, Tomato Club Girls," which would be funded by the General Education Board in New York. During the interview, Agnew expressed concern that she "knew nothing about gardening which seemed to be of immediate importance." She later wrote that Knapp responded, "But you know girls, Miss Agnew, and they are so much harder to learn than tomatoes." This often-quoted exchange recounted in Agnew's words reveals that she came to this position not primarily because she believed in industrial or home economics training but because she was committed to educational reform for girls and women. An ardent suffragist who wanted "to advance opportunities for women's service," Agnew wrote that she became committed to the importance of women's right to vote while working as a bookkeeper, stenographer, and teacher in South Africa, where she observed women advocating for political reform.[7]

Agnew's position was the first home demonstration agent in the country and the first field position for a woman in the U.S. Department of Agriculture. She started work on July 1, 1910. Eggleston asked her to establish clubs in a few counties before expanding the program across the state. Agnew began by studying tomato cultivation at Hampton Institute, a historically black college that was designated as the land-grant institution for African Americans in Virginia. That first summer, she organized forty-nine girls into six tomato clubs in two counties. She must have been working with wealthier farm girls, because she wrote that some girls were indifferent to garden work and believed that it was suitable only for servant girls.[8]

Pleased with Agnew's results, Eggleston asked her to develop a statewide program and coordinate the work of a small number of female agents. Agnew

brought impressive organizational and fund-raising skills from her previous administrative positions, and she drew on this experience. She needed to secure matching funds for the program within each county, so she appealed to local governments as well as to women's associations such as the Equal Suffrage League. Still, she later reported that she often faced resistance among local people who objected to a "woman so bold" speaking to "mixed audiences about new-fangled ideas in 'schooling.'" While tomato cultivation was not new, the idea of educational clubs for women and girls must have proved uncomfortable to some of the men attending these meetings. Knapp had warned her that "upon her rested the responsibility of either closing the door to women or opening an unlimited field of service."[9]

Agnew must have been relieved when the federal government passed the Smith-Lever Act in 1914 and established a national extension program. This act offered a more permanent basis of federal funding, created an administrative structure for the program utilizing the state land-grant colleges, and required each state to implement programs for women and girls. Now Agnew had resources to "secure workers for a longer time." By 1915 she reported that agents were working for eleven months in ten of Virginia's one hundred counties.[10] However, the program still required local funding to match federal dollars, so Agnew continued her campaign to gain financial support from communities and especially from women.

A club of elite, white, rural women led the movement in Augusta County. While they had not taken the same opportunity as Agnew to leave the farm and pursue careers, they shared a similar perspective on service. In 1914 women who described themselves as having a "strong social consciousness" organized the Tuesday Club for "mutual improvement and universal service." Like urban club women, they were wealthy, and the younger organizers were college educated. The women described the organization as "a country club of broad interest and membership, personal advancement, and fellowship." Louise Moffett, one of the youngest founders at age fourteen, later recalled, "On returning home after a course of study and attending a gay round of parties, I found that the people of my acquaintance, all of them educated, seemed never to discuss the really interesting things which they had spent time and money learning." Club members were connected by ties of friendship and family, a multigenerational group composed of young single women and their mothers or other relatives.[11]

Had these women lived in the county seat of Staunton, Moffett and her friends and their mothers could have joined one of the new women's voluntary associations, such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the Ladies' Auxiliary of the YMCA, the City Mission for the Poor, the Staunton Exchange for Women's Work, the King's Daughters, and the Community Welfare League. In the country, the only opportunities for these women to participate in voluntary work were the local chapters of the WCTU, which faded after the

passage of the state prohibition amendment in 1914, and the women's missionary societies at church. The women who formed the Tuesday Club had the time and resources to establish their own organization, a rural counterpart of the Staunton women's associations.[12]

The Tuesday Club developed a social housekeeping mission comparable to other contemporary women's organizations. Its interests included community needs and public health. The club provided money for war orphans overseas, promoted film censorship, organized programs on child education and cooperative education, and established a county nurse program. On March 1, 1917, as part of its community outreach efforts, the Tuesday Club approved a motion by Elsie Moffett, Louise's older sister, to support the formation of a canning club among county girls.[13]

As a single, twenty-seven-year-old daughter of an established, prosperous farm family, Moffett was typical of the single club women who became involved in community service and social housekeeping work during the early twentieth century. Her mother graduated from Mary Baldwin Seminary in Staunton, and all of Elsie's siblings attended college. Elsie studied for three years at her mother's alma mater, from 1902 to 1905, before she returned home to "assume the household duties, where she was needed." In 1910, after her mother passed away, Elsie was living at home taking care of her father, an older brother, a younger sister, and two younger brothers. She was active in volunteer work at her church, teaching Sunday school and organizing "a missionary band" of young people. Elsie was one of the Tuesday Club's leading advocates for community projects, serving as the club's first "health officer" and helping establish the county nurse program.[14]

Moffett became interested in home demonstration work when she took a summer course in nutrition and the preparation, preservation, and care of foods at VPI, perhaps as part of her club work. Perhaps more importantly, she met Maude Wallace, who introduced Moffett to the home demonstration program and encouraged her to work with young people. A former home economics teacher, Wallace had come to Virginia to teach food conservation techniques during World War I. Through this summer course, Moffett "acquired the knowledge for a program of rural education." When she returned home, she "saw the urgency and need for homemaking information in her own county" and asked the Tuesday Club to help her establish a home demonstration program in Augusta County.[15]

The outbreak of World War I triggered a substantial growth in home demonstration work across the country. Agnew recalled that county agents "were suddenly plunged into new kinds of war work with new groups of people," promoting special wartime campaigns such as Red Cross, Thrift Stamp, and Liberty Loan. Even with emergency funding, Agnew preferred to hire agents only in counties that would offer local funds to match the federal appropriation,

arguing that "all work was undertaken with the idea of making it permanent."[16] In many counties, including Augusta, supervisors were hesitant to commit their limited resources to women's work, which they considered less important than agricultural activities. It was often due to the persistent lobbying efforts by local women, such as the members of the Tuesday Club, that county supervisors agreed to provide funds for a home demonstration agent.

As in other communities, the Tuesday Club met with resistance at first. When Moffett and other club members asked the county for funds to hire a female agent in 1917, the supervisors refused. However, their plea garnered support from the county's agriculture agent, who appealed to the board of supervisors to allocate $125 for travel expense, but not a salary. In his annual report, agricultural agent William Campfield claimed credit for securing the funding, writing, "I took the lead and through the Augusta County Council of Safety was able to induce the Board of Supervisors to make an appropriation to defray the expenses" of a home demonstration agent to work during the canning and preserving season and help farm women "conserve their farm and garden produce." Perhaps Campfield wanted a female agent to help with the wartime "Food Production" campaign that he started among county schoolchildren, because her work could free up his time for other activities.[17]

Moffett offered to volunteer that summer to get the program started. She organized girls' tomato clubs under the direction of the county agricultural agent, although Campfield never mentioned her name or her work in his annual report. She also conducted canning and food demonstrations for interested women and girls. Records of the Spring Hill Home Demonstration Club report that Moffett held "several unorganized meetings" in the town hall in the summer of 1917. Lucille Berry Masincupp remembers the excitement of going with her mother to one of these first meetings where they were "canning tomatoes and things like that." When asked if Moffett was lively or friendly, Masincupp recalled, "I don't remember her being like that." Moffett's formal instructional style likely reflected her class status. A 1958 newspaper article described her as "a very earnest and capable young woman who went about any project with assurance and confidence in success."[18]

Moffett's achievements impressed her fellow Tuesday Club members, who made funding a permanent, full-time home demonstration agent one of their goals. Club members hoped that Moffett's accomplishments over the summer would demonstrate the importance of the program, but they also understood that they needed to apply additional pressure to convince the supervisors to allocate the necessary funds for a salary. They enlisted the support of Hallie Hughes, the Virginia specialist in 4-H work, who spoke at the board meeting in October 1917 and urged the members to fund a full-time female agent for the following year. In addition, the club appointed a member to "interview" all of the supervisors and convince them of their cause. Still, in February 1918 the su-

pervisors agreed to allocate only $300, half of the required match. Local businesses and the city of Staunton provided the remaining $300. Elsie Moffett was appointed the county's first paid home demonstration agent in March 1918.[19]

Moffett wrote that county girls and women were eager to participate in club work. During her first full year, she organized eight girls' canning clubs and "influenced" a thousand girls and women who packed five thousand cans of fruits and vegetables. She added that women asked for help not only with canning, sewing, and poultry but also with home improvement, labor-saving devices, and "improvement of public schools." Club members became involved in war-related work; one women's club reported rolling bandages and knitting squares for blankets.[20]

Female agents experienced tensions working with the male agricultural agents, especially when their work overlapped in 4-H club activities. When Augusta County agriculture agent P. C. Manley decided to hold a summer 4-H encampment in 1919, he asked Moffett to help. Almost immediately, challenges emerged. Manley set the camp dates for the first part of August, when the wheat and hay harvest would be finished and the boys could attend. He wrote that Moffett, "from some misunderstanding or otherwise," announced to the club members that the camp dates would be in late July. He complained that fewer boys could attend the camp because of harvest work. Further, Manley claimed that Moffett "assured me that she could get plenty of money to finance the encampment," but she failed to acquire the funds, as he had "expected," leaving them to finance the affair "as best we could." While he praised the camp's success and Moffett's "untiring efforts," he commented that the clubs had to conduct a fund-raiser at the Farmer's Union picnic to help defray some of the expenses.[21]

When Moffett retired from home demonstration work in 1921, the county clubs had grown to include forty-seven members in the women's clubs and 134 girls in 4-H work. During her last full year, in 1920, Moffett recorded making 956 consultations, sending 1,446 letters and 2,410 bulletins, visiting 273 schools or clubs, conducting 152 meetings, and making 237 visits to club members. Moffett died only three years later, at the age of thirty-seven. Her obituary, which appeared on the front page of the Staunton newspaper, suggested that her tireless efforts and dedication to club work contributed to her ill health: "She gave her entire life to [home demonstration work], working early and late, and it is felt that the earnestness and long hours she dedicated to the home demonstration program undermined her health." At a memorial meeting to honor and recognize Moffett's work for the county, the Tuesday Club reported that her life was "devoted to her work among the county people, especially the children who still revere her memory."[22]

The development of home demonstration work in Augusta County paralleled that of other Virginia counties, many of which first embraced the movement

during World War I. The number of home demonstration agents across the United States increased from 430 in 1916 to 1,715 in 1918, the year that Moffett became a full-time county agent. Ella Agnew wrote that wartime work energized rural women and girls, who enjoyed both the educational benefits and service opportunities of club work. After the war, one woman asked Agnew, "Were we really working only for our own during this war time, or did we catch a world vision?" USDA specialists O. B. Martin and Ola Powell similarly considered the war the turning point for home demonstration work, arguing that emergency work brought increased recognition of the importance of farm women's economic and moral contributions to the home.[23]

While the war brought greater visibility and additional federal money to the program, some counties discontinued funding for female agent positions after it ended. Southern states fared better than northern and western states, but the decline in Virginia still proved dramatic. The number of female agents dropped from 36 to 21. Augusta was one of only six counties that hired a female agent during the war and kept her. Of these six, half terminated the funding in the early 1920s. The home demonstration position in Augusta County almost faced a similar fate. In October 1921, one month after Elsie Moffett left, around one-third of a "large delegation" of 350 to 400 people attending the county board of supervisors meeting spoke against continuing local funding for the agricultural agent, the home demonstration agent, and the county nurse for 1922, but the supervisors voted to provide the allocation for the next year. Each fall, supporters of the home demonstration program appeared before the board of supervisors to advocate for funding for the next year.[24]

By the mid-1920s and through the 1930s, home demonstration work began to expand across the country, and Augusta County was no exception. As the program evolved, the background of the women who served as agents changed as well. Unlike Elsie Moffett, the daughter of a wealthy farmer who came to club work from the women's voluntary tradition, subsequent agents came from middle-class or sometimes struggling farm families similar to those of the women they served, and they saw home demonstration work as an exciting new career opportunity.

Many agents in the 1920s were farm women who attended college to pursue teaching careers but "wanted to do something else," recalled Blanche Lindamood Beamer. "You'd just get into it." Beamer, who graduated from Mississippi State University, taught one year in Louisiana before returning to Virginia to find a teaching job. When the state agent "heard that I was back" and "had gotten a degree in home economics," she convinced Beamer to pursue a home demonstration position. In 1920 Beamer became the first county agent in Virginia with a degree in home economics. She moved on to work as Augusta County's third agent from December 1923 through September 1928. Beamer's

successor, Ruth Jamison, had also been a teacher. When Jamison returned to Virginia too late to find a teaching position, her sister encouraged her to apply for extension work, and she was offered a job immediately.[25]

Beamer and Jamison discovered they preferred home demonstration work to teaching. The position paid better: Jamison earned $45 a month teaching in 1916, but her first assignment as an extension agent grossed $150 monthly. Jamison also enjoyed working with women and girls who were interested in what she taught, recalling that they "were willing to cooperate, and teaching, you never know whether you're going to get one little boy through that grade or not." But when asked what she liked best about being an agent, Jamison responded, "Well, of course, it was sort of a social thing. And we made it sort of a social thing."[26]

Choosing extension work as a career did require some sacrifices. Before World War II, home demonstration agents had to leave their positions if they married. Blanche Lindamood Beamer quit in 1928 when she married an extension specialist. Home demonstration agents "were supposed to give their full and undivided attention to their jobs," recalled Jamison. "You couldn't do very good work and be married too." Jamison became engaged at the beginning of her first county assignment, but she had promised to work for two years. "By the time I had two years, I didn't want to get married!" Extension work also demanded long hours, often well into the evening, as well as summer work, unlike teaching. According to a 1920s survey of agents who resigned, approximately one-third listed "irregular hours and night meetings" as the chief disadvantages of the work.[27]

Female agents embraced many of the same humanitarian ideals as the early twentieth-century social work movement. The Virginia chapter of Epsilon Sigma Phi, a fraternity of extension agents that included men as well as women, articulated the goal: "I believe in my own work and in the opportunity I have to make my life useful to mankind." Extension home economists used farm and household tasks as wedges to address wider issues related to rural women's work. Canning demonstrations not only taught efficiency and productivity in gardening and preservation but also encouraged women to improve their diet, which agents hoped would lead to healthier and happier farm families. Home improvement programs offered avenues for rural women to remodel their homes in the popular middle-class style and to earn money by selling poultry and dairy products as well as handicrafts.[28]

Similar to their urban counterparts, home demonstration agents had ambition. Regardless of their family's financial status, most agents were influenced by parents who held high hopes for their children. Jamison came from a family of ten children in Franklin County, the daughter of a "dirt farmer" in a relatively poor mountain county near Roanoke, Virginia. Her mother was "so anxious for her children to do something" that she encouraged all of them to complete high school and attend college. This determination carried over to Ruth. "I was

anxious to have a profession and have something. I was so poor when I was little that I just hated to be poor. And I wanted something, and I wanted it for everybody I knew."[29]

Ruth Jamison took advantage of the possibilities a career in extension work could offer, recalling it was "so much bigger and so much better" than teaching. Jamison left Augusta County in 1935 to accept a position as the home management and house furnishings specialist at the state extension office in Blacksburg, where she worked until she retired in 1961. At VPI, she established a rewarding career that might otherwise have been unattainable. Jamison received study leave to pursue both a BS and MA degree in home economics at Columbia University. She served in a variety of positions, including president of the Virginia Home Economics Association, and she held leadership roles in the American Home Economics Association. Her specialization in home improvement led her to participate in a wide array of state and national councils and committees regarding rural electrification, household lighting, and housing. As an active professional woman, Jamison joined the Woman's Club, the state Garden Club, and the American Association of University Women, as well as numerous church committees and Epsilon Sigma Phi. The two Augusta County agents from the 1930s who succeeded her also remained single and moved on to pursue positions at the state extension office, creating similarly fulfilling professional lives and building community with other women who turned this job into a career.[30]

By the 1930s and 1940s the requirements for county agent work changed once again, and so too did the women who filled these positions. The first change in the 1930s was that the extension service began to hire more women with home economics degrees, such as Augusta County agent Katherine Bowen, who had previously been a home economics teacher. With the growth of this field in state colleges, more qualified applicants who had taken courses in home demonstration work sought positions as county agents. The Harrisonburg State Normal School, for example, offered what its administrators considered an innovative program in household arts, manual arts, and rural arts, designed for women to "teach or supervise" in these areas. Perhaps the most significant change occurred in the early 1940s, when the extension service allowed married women to work due to a shortage of agents during the war years. Louise Cooley, who accepted the home demonstration position in Augusta County in January 1940, was married, and she stayed in her position longer than any of her predecessors. Tied to their communities, with husbands working and children attending schools in the area, married agents offered a different type of leadership model as career women who also managed a household and a family.[31]

The women and girls who joined home demonstration and 4-H clubs found opportunities of their own in this emerging movement. They were not the more affluent women and did not come from backgrounds similar to Moffett. According to Blanche Lindamood Beamer, "The wealthy thought that the organi-

zation was set up to help the poor farmer's families. They didn't need us. They had their own garden clubs and their metropolitan clubs and their UDCs and their DARS." Nor did members usually come "from the old families of Augusta County." Ruth Jamison explained that elite women believed "that it was sort of beneath their dignity, and besides, they had gotten along very well, that was why they were wealthy."[32]

From its inception, home demonstration work appealed to middle-class rural women who were actively engaged in the farm economy and wanted to further their education and opportunities. Edith Lickfold Shumake, one of the first tomato club girls in Augusta County, illustrates the background of early 4-H club members. Her family was "comfortable financially," and her parents were forward-looking individuals. Edith also had determination. With Elsie Moffett's encouragement, Edith went to college and became a teacher. She joined a home demonstration club after she married and served in several leadership positions in the Virginia Federation of Home Demonstration Clubs, which provided much-valued recognition outside her community and the chance to travel around the state. She also had the time, resources, and support from her family to participate actively in the program.[33]

As with the state program, Augusta County's movement took off first with rural girls. Agents found organizing clubs at country schools and holding meetings during school hours a successful way to entice members, such as Edith Shumake or Edna Hulvey, who might not have the time or transportation to attend meetings outside of school. By the 1920s the extension program brought girls and boys together into 4-H "community clubs." Mary Zimmerman Kiser enjoyed the field trips, because we "got away from school . . . and it was with the boys too."[34]

In contrast, the women's clubs grew more slowly in the 1920s, attracting women from the upper edge of middle-class rural families. After attending Elsie Moffett's canning demonstrations in the summer of 1917, a group of women in Spring Hill formed the first women's club in Augusta County the following year. Similar to urban club women, these first Spring Hill members had the time to meet for volunteer work. The club scrapbook notes that "about a dozen members would bring quilts to the lodge hall and we would spend the day knotting them. We must have made a dozen." Besides the study of poultry culling and canning, which reflected the rural base of the membership, their work resembled other contemporary women's voluntary organizations. During World War I the club adopted two French orphans, led Red Cross drives, and made clothes for the "destitute overseas."[35]

Women's clubs mirrored social networks in rural communities, remaining relatively homogenous and exclusive in terms of class and often religion. Centerville residents Louisa "Lula" Cupp and Mattie Glick Wise organized the Centerville Club in 1922. The charter members, eight "housekeepers and homemak-

ers" and a high school girl who "assists in home projects," were mostly friends or relatives. The charter members included Mattie's sister Ida Craun and Ida's daughter Eva, who lived on the adjacent farm, and Mattie's sister Elizabeth Shull, who lived two farms away. Mattie was related to Louisa by marriage: Mattie's brother married Louisa's sister-in-law. The high school girl, Edith Glick, was a niece of both Mattie and Louisa and lived near the latter. The charter members represented two generations and consisted of five mothers, between the ages of thirty-seven and fifty-four, and three daughters between fifteen and twenty-three.[36]

Both Cupp and Wise exemplify the forward-looking character of the early club women. Beamer recalled that the home demonstration club members during her tenure were still the "wives of prominent people." Cupp's husband, Marcus, operated a general store in the village of Centerville. The oldest member of the club at age fifty-four, Cupp had five children between the ages of three and twenty-four living at home. Wise, a thirty-six-year-old widow with four children between ages seven and eleven, lived on a prosperous farm with her father and her brother, who was attending college. Both Cupp and Wise had relatively modern homes for the time. Cupp's house was one of the few in the village to have electricity, fueled by an acetylene light plant. Wise competed in one of the first kitchen improvement contests in the county in 1924. "She had the money to get something new if she wanted it," recalled her niece Edith Glick. Wise's husband's family was "rich," "making such high prices" on wheat during the war.[37]

An advocate of women's suffrage, Mattie Wise saw home demonstration work as an opportunity for women to become more engaged in the community. There were few organizations for rural women to join at that time, explained Blanche Beamer. "The churches had their little, I guess you'd call, circles or auxiliaries, women's organizations. The church would put on suppers every once in a while." Already active in the Ladies' Aid Society at church, Wise's daughter recalled, Mattie was attracted to home demonstration club work because there "weren't too many civic organizations back then" and she liked being with people.[38]

Club membership grew in the 1930s. Jamison brought club work to a broader geographic constituency and reached a larger number of middle-class women and girls. She worked hard to attract new members: in 1935, her last year, she made more than a thousand phone calls, visited nine hundred homes, and sent more than three thousand letters. Jamison's efforts paid off, as club members received accolades and earned awards and recognition in the community and beyond. In 1934 the Spring Hill Home Demonstration Club received $1,000 for the best club work in the southern states, and 4-H girls won many awards in state and national contests for food preservation and sewing.[39]

Jamison used that success to recruit new members. "Everything we did we had in the paper," Jamison recalled. "I kept the papers full all of what they were

doing, and then they'd read in the paper and they'd see something they'd like to learn. And they'd say, 'Well why can't we have this?' And that's how we got clubs. Local women would come and say, why can't we have a club? And I'd say, you can. You know all you have to do is get behind and push. If you get somebody who will get twenty people or more together, and somebody who will be willing to be president, I'll be right here for you."[40]

Edna Hulvey's mother, forty-year-old Mary Hulvey, was one of the women who took the initiative to organize a club. Mary became a charter member of the Mount Sidney Home Demonstration Club in 1935. Edna recalled that her mother "was always interested in what I was doing," but she finally had more time to participate in club work. After Mary and her husband bought their own farm in 1934, she had more control over how she managed her time. In addition, her family at home was shrinking; she only had two boys still in school, and Edna was planning her wedding. "Oh, she was just farm bred and born. She lived on the farm, and she really loved her gardening and sewing and homemaking," recalled Edna. "That was what she thrived [on]." Edna believes that the social aspects of club work also appealed to her mother. "My mother didn't get out that often, and it was mainly neighbors that were in the club, and she just liked the social part. You can see it by the pictures."[41]

If any characteristic defined the women and girls attracted to home demonstration work, it was what Jamison described as their "drive." These were "people who had some of the same background that I had," she explained. "They wanted to get somewhere." While they did not leave the farm for a career as Jamison had done, club women had their own goals, whether to increase their status among their friends, improve their standard of living, expand their social networks, indulge their artistic talents, or become more involved in the community. By the 1930s many of the members had completed high school in spite of the difficulties they may have encountered, recalled Regina Kesterson. Virginia Stickley Berry, a 4-H All Star, needed to attend one extra year of high school to graduate due to the many responsibilities she had on her family's farm. She could not afford to go on to college during the Depression years, so Berry considered club work her equivalent of a college education. She believed that she "wouldn't have learned so much" practical information in college as she gained through extension.[42]

Other club members shared Berry's perspective that home demonstration work was a continuing education program they could mold to their own needs and interests. The daughter of a Weyers Cave club member recalled that her mother "was always anxious to learn new things." Lucille Masincupp explained that home demonstration work appealed to her mother, a charter member of the Spring Hill club, because she had been a teacher before she married and always wanted to learn, adding that "she read all the time."[43]

Oral histories of Augusta County club members reveal that many were drawn to club work in part by the opportunity to socialize with family and friends

they did not see on a regular basis. Mary McCormick recalled that her mother, the first president of the Spottswood club, was "sort of restless on the farm," and club work "gave her an outlet." Agents encouraged plenty of social gatherings beyond the monthly meetings. Home demonstration activities in Augusta County included the annual Achievement Day and Better Homes Day for women and the county rally and annual countywide picnic for 4-H clubs. Club members fondly recall the 4-H summer camps, the summer institutes at Blacksburg, and the district or statewide meetings as well as their participation in county or state fairs as some of the highlights of their club experiences. Extension events and activities offered an excuse for women and girls to leave home for several days. Mary Garber Bussard remembered that her widowed mother, who still had several children at home, seldom traveled away from home, but one of the few trips she ever made was to attend a three-day extension short course in Blacksburg.[44]

Club members sought to enrich rural life by organizing social activities in their own communities. The increasing mobility offered by the automobile and the popular new entertainments such as dance halls and movie theaters were tempting rural youth to go to larger towns and cities for leisure. To keep them content in the country and to promote activities that were "morally uplifting" and "inspirational," extension agents and club members planned "wholesome" events, including barn dances, picnics, and variety shows. The 1934 Augusta County 4-H "Music Box Review" featured choruses, broadcasts, solos, pantomimes, string quartets, and traditional Virginia reel and clog dancing involving all members of the family, in contrast to urban dance halls or teen canteens where young people danced the jitterbug or swing dances with their peers.[45]

Club members engaged actively in community service. Ella Agnew believed that rural women and girls should have greater "opportunities for larger homemaking, such as community building." The home demonstration program required that each monthly meeting include a "community topic" for discussion and that every club incorporate a community project in its annual work program. Augusta County women's clubs developed school lunch programs, improved school grounds, equipped home economics classrooms, helped needy families, established community health programs, and launched highway beautification projects.[46]

As the extension program became more bureaucratic in the 1930s, the role of the agent in club activities began to change. Pulled in many directions by a larger constituency and more government programs, home demonstration agents turned to club members for help. One of the goals in home demonstration work had always been to train rural women and girls to take leadership roles in club work. The extension service provided this training through workshops in the county and short courses at Blacksburg. These trained grassroots "leaders" conducted demonstrations at meetings when the agent could not be present and served as resource volunteers for the 4-H clubs. Once we were

"pretty good at something, we'd give a demonstration on that," recalled Mary Zimmerman Kiser.[47]

By the late 1930s these leaders, primarily female club members, were conducting half of the demonstrations for each women's club during the year and at least that number in 4-H clubs. In the process they gained considerable control over club programs and activities. This change proved bittersweet to agents such as Ruth Jamison. On the one hand, she was proud of the leadership that her club members displayed and of the new skills they had developed. On the other hand, she recognized that these women brought their own approach and ideas to the demonstrations and programs, reflecting that "it's hard to sit there and see what they do."[48]

In their new leadership roles, club members deliberately set themselves apart from other women in their communities. In much the same way that the wealthier Tuesday Club members and Elsie Moffett worked for the "country women," home demonstration and 4-H club members now volunteered to help "marginal" or "underprivileged" families in their communities. Perhaps the best example of this new role of club women as social workers appeared as they took on New Deal emergency programs assigned to county home demonstration agents in the 1930s. Club women led relief work with the "mountain women" and served as garden directors to teach subsistence gardening. "I got some of the home demonstration women to help me. They helped to find those people, because I didn't know anything about them," Jamison explained. "They liked to be leaders, because they got good training and they could pass it on. And then they were big people in the community." Grace Frysinger of the USDA boasted that the assistance provided by home demonstration club members for the relief programs represented one of the most "dramatic" but "little heralded" developments in rural leadership.[49]

Within the structure of this increasingly bureaucratic government home demonstration program, rural Virginia women created opportunities. Whether they forged successful careers that lasted a lifetime, enjoyed the chance to attend the state short courses at Blacksburg or showcase and gain recognition for their sewing or canning skills, or thrived in their emerging leadership roles in rural communities, the women and girls who participated in the home demonstration and 4-H program found their own niche. In so doing, they created a broader community of like-minded women—near their homes, in the state, and around the country—with whom they could share their ideas and celebrate their success. They gained more control over their lives, their work, and their communities, as much as was possible for women and girls living in rural Virginia during the 1920s and 1930s.

Edna Hulvey Garber's participation in 4-H club work took her from that "great big lane" in the Mount Sidney countryside to a national contest in the booming industrial city of Chicago. This special trip came as a result of a brown

wool suit she made, one of the many sewing projects she carried from her home to the Mount Sidney school. Edna remembered the excitement she felt when her suit, produced with the assistance of her equally proud mentor agent, Ruth Jamison, won the state clothing contest in 1931. Garber credited Jamison with her success, saying that Jamison "seemed like she took an interest in what I was doing, and I know if she hadn't helped me I never would have gotten my trip to Chicago, if I hadn't had special help through her. Because my parents wouldn't have, you know, my dad couldn't have asked off from farm-work to take me to town to shop for the things that I needed and all like she did."[50]

Edna and a delegation of state 4-H contest winners traveled to Chicago to compete in the national contests in November that year. When the train arrived at Union Station, she and another Virginia girl became apprehensive about the "wall to wall people." Everyone else in her group "just went," but Edna and her new friend stayed behind. "I didn't know what to do, fifteen years old, and she didn't either. I wished I was at home right then." They stood there, suitcases in hand, waiting until their chaperone came back and picked them up. "I really tried to stick close, but what do you do? Do you just go on and let the man set your suitcase down? My suit was in there! I might as well have gone home."[51]

Modeling her prize-winning suit on stage at the Chicago Theater must have been an exhilarating experience for Edna. She earned fifth place in the national clothing judging contest, using the knowledge she had gained from her 4-H sewing projects. Edna enjoyed attending all of the conference events, participating in the evening entertainments filled with music and folk dancing, and visiting the Montgomery Ward mail-order plant. Before she and her fellow Virginia 4-H contestants left Chicago, they visited the zoo and saw Lake Michigan, two places she did not want to miss. When the state delegation returned to Virginia, they went to a photographer and had a picture taken before everyone headed home, preserving the precious memories of this once-in-a-lifetime trip, a trip made possible by her participation in the home demonstration program.[52]

NOTES

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Marie Kimball

Pioneering Scholar and First Curator of Monticello

ANNA BERKES

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On May 19, 1927, Fiske Kimball typed a brief note to his supervisors on the board of directors of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation: "I sent Mrs. Kimball to Washington to look up various matters, in which she was very successful." "Mrs. Kimball" was Marie Christine Goebel Kimball, the thirty-seven-year-old daughter of an irascible German professor, a university graduate, and published author of dozens of articles. Her husband, Fiske Kimball, was an architectural historian of some note who had recently been selected to head the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation's restoration committee. And the "various matters" that Mrs. Kimball had looked up were the first steps in what would be a decades-long quest to restore the interior of Monticello, Thomas Jefferson's beloved home near Charlottesville, Virginia.

Through the late 1930s until her death in 1955, Marie Kimball labored alongside her husband to restore Monticello; she was appointed its first curator in 1944. At the same time, she continued to publish dozens of books and articles on Jefferson based on her own dogged archival research. When she died, her obituary in the *New York Times* read, "Marie Kimball Dies; Wrote Biographies"—a terse acknowledgement of her scholarship, but at the same time a disappointing memorial for a woman who had broken so much new ground in her research, and who had been instrumental in one of the most important restoration projects of the century.[1]

Marie Kimball does not fit easily into the traditional narrative of historic preservation in America—of women's groups fighting to save historic properties during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, gradually supplanted by male professionals in the early twentieth century, and only in the late twentieth century joined again by large numbers of female professionals. Marie was

a woman working during a time when men were increasingly dominating the field. She worked in a professional capacity, decades before many women did so; and she applied rigorous standards of scholarship during a time when historic preservation had no established best practices. Her achievements garnered only a lopsided recognition during her lifetime, and since her death the importance of her work has been all but forgotten.

Marie Kimball was born into a remarkable family, one in which education was of paramount importance. Both of her parents as well as her paternal grandfather were educators. Marie's letters and later writings reveal that her father, Julius Goebel, was the most important influence in her early life. Looking back on her youth, she reflected that her father had "sacrificed all earthly things that most men think important, to give us a superb education. I have thanked him every day of my life, many times for this. He opened a world of wonder to a mind and to eyes that would otherwise have been blind to the richness that lies about us."[2]

Julius Goebel was born in the free city of Frankfurt, now part of Germany, in 1857. Julius's father, Ludwig, was a schoolteacher and member of the city government, and his mother, Christine, Baroness von Schütz, was a member of the local landed gentry. Ludwig and Christine Goebel immigrated to the United States in 1872 with their three sons, Julius, Gustav, and Louis, because Ludwig, Marie later wrote, "could not bring himself to swear allegiance to Prussia." The family settled in the New York City area, and Julius completed his secondary education at the Theological Seminary in Bloomfield, New Jersey. He later returned to Germany to study at Leipzig and received his doctorate in philology from the University of Tübingen in 1882.[3]

Julius returned to the United States after receiving his degree and eventually took a position as instructor in German at Johns Hopkins University in 1885. Three years later he married Kathryn Vreeland, a young schoolteacher and native of Hackensack, New Jersey, whom he had met through his younger brother. Louis Goebel was pastor of a German church in Hackensack, where Vreeland was a member of his congregation. The young newlyweds moved to New York, where Julius had taken a job as the editor of the *Belletristisches Journal*, a German-language literary journal. Their first child, Marie Christine, was born nine months later in Hackensack, on June 7, 1889.

When Marie was three years old, Julius was invited to a faculty position at Stanford University, which had opened its doors only the year before. The family moved across the country to California, and it was there that Marie's younger siblings Louise, Julius Jr., Irma, Anne, Walther, and Eunice were born. The family spent the next thirteen years living in Palo Alto. Friends, family, and professional colleagues spoke of Julius in glowing terms, but his papers reveal a troubled history of friction with colleagues and superiors. At Johns Hopkins he clashed with a Dr. Wood; the *Belletristisches Journal* was sued during the

MARIE GOEBEL KIMBALL, C. 1913

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Museum of Art Archives.

MONTICELLO'S EAST FRONT, C. 1926–28

Photograph by Gitchell's Studio. Courtesy of the Thomas Jefferson Foundation at Monticello.

time when Goebel served as editor in chief; and at Stanford he ran afoul of the president of the university, and he was ultimately dismissed from his position there. This incident was notorious in academic circles at the time, and Marie's righteous indignation about the dismissal was still detectable many years later, when she described it in a biographical sketch of her father:

> A scholar of Julius Goebel's obvious superiority could not fail to suffer from the jealousies of some less well-equipped colleagues, nor could a man of his independence help falling a victim to the persecution of despotic administrative officials. With his uncompromising championship of the highest scholarly ideals, his influence in the affairs of Stanford University became so great as to provoke the hostility of its president, who, in 1905, in defiance of the tradition of academic security of tenure, summarily dismissed him from the faculty.

More than anything else, perhaps, Julius Goebel was guilty of being difficult to get along with. Although Julius made many enemies, he apparently also endeared himself to some powerful friends, including none other than President Theodore Roosevelt. It was partly through Roosevelt's intervention that Julius was able to obtain a position at Harvard following the debacle at Stanford.[4]

Before they could move back east, Marie and her family had one more trial to endure. Just after five in the morning on April 18, 1906, a powerful earthquake struck the San Francisco area. At the time, Julius was out of town, and Kathryn Goebel was alone in Palo Alto with Marie and her younger siblings. Marie's mother wrote a series of anguished letters to Julius in the aftermath, describing the event and dire conditions afterward: "the morning of the earthquake I was awakened as was everyone with the most violent shaking & twisting I had ever experienced . . . —it seemed as though the tower would crash in every second: I jumped up calling loudly to the other children & snatched up the baby [Eunice]; . . . she was thrown violently from my arms & she began screaming loudly; all this time not a child was heard from nor seen while the noise outside was deafening." After the family had finally made it outside, they encountered chaos all around them: "it was still shaking and we stood in our night robes clinging to each other; by that time every one was up . . . our few neighbors running & screaming, the cattle bellowing & everything crashing about us—it was too horrible!!! Had we been out a few seconds earlier we should probably [have] been hit by the bricks falling from the top of the house."

Kathryn Goebel had mattresses set up under a tent in the backyard, and this is where she and the children lived for the next several weeks. She described the damage to the house as "slight in comparison with many," listing cracked walls, a fallen chimney, and a huge hole in the middle of the dining room floor. Kathryn was unable to let Julius know that the family had survived the quake until April 21, three days after the event, when cable service was restored. Kathryn Goebel's letters reveal a woman struggling to deal with the crisis, both physi-

cally and emotionally. She wrote two days after the quake to her husband that "yesterday I collapsed once & had a sorry time for about two hours but I am all right now." She mentions repeatedly being unable to sleep in the days after the quake. Julius was particularly concerned about his wife's state. He wrote in the days after the quake to a friend nearby in Palo Alto that he had wanted to bring the whole family east to escape the situation in California, but he feared that the effort and disruption of travel would simply add to the strain on his wife. Marie was just sixteen at the time, and doubtless bore much of the burden of caring for her younger siblings, and possibly to a certain extent her mother as well, during the crisis.[5]

The family joined Julius at Harvard soon thereafter. Marie briefly attended the Latin School at Cambridge before matriculating at Radcliffe College. The Goebels spent only two years at Harvard before Julius was offered the opportunity to become head of the German department at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Obtaining the position had been something of a challenge because of the damage to his reputation after the Stanford affair, but in the end the good word of Julius's friends convinced the president of the university to offer him the position.

The Goebel family moved to Urbana in 1908. Marie transferred from Radcliffe to the University of Illinois and graduated in 1911 with a bachelor's degree in literature and arts. During her time at the university she had taken courses in drama, English, French and German literature and composition, philosophy, political science, psychology, rhetoric, composition, music, botany, and multiple courses in history. She also participated in Alethenai (a women's literary society), the Scribbler's Club, and Phi Delta Psi. Marie's attainment of a college degree was certainly notable at a time when fewer than 4 percent of American women attended college at all. In the Goebel family, however, it seemed to be almost expected: at least five of the seven children studied at the university, and several went on to distinguished careers in academia and the arts. Julius Goebel Jr. (1892–1973), with whom Marie was particularly close, became a renowned legal historian and professor at Columbia University; Irma Goebel Labastille (1894–1982) was a concert pianist and later became involved in environmental causes; and Walther F. Goebel (1899–1993), who earned a doctorate in chemistry, had a celebrated career at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research and was later elected to the National Academy of Sciences.[6]

After she graduated from the university, Marie began teaching German and English at Champaign High School in the fall of 1912. At that time a young graduate student named Sidney Fiske Kimball had just arrived at the university to take a position as instructor in architecture. Kimball was born in Newton, Massachusetts, in 1888 to Ellen Leora Kimball and Edwin Fiske Kimball, a writer and headmaster of a local school. The young Sidney (who later went by his middle name only) obtained a bachelor's degree in fine arts and a master's

in architecture, both from Harvard, before accepting the position in Illinois. It is worth noting that Fiske's older sister, Theodora, also was highly educated and successful in academia: she became one of the first women to obtain a graduate degree from Simmons College, served as librarian of Harvard's School of Landscape Architecture, and had a distinguished career as an expert in landscape architecture and city planning.[7]

Fiske was intelligent and confident but could often be abrasive. As family friends later told the story, Fiske failed to make a favorable impression on Julius Goebel, at least at first: "Fiske came often to their house, and though Dr. Goebel once threw him out for using bad language, which was always one of Fiske's besetting sins, Marie's love overcame her parents' objections." Marie and Fiske were married June 7, 1913, in a ceremony performed by Marie's paternal uncle Gustav.[8] Fiske and Marie spent the summer of 1913 at Harvard, where Fiske was researching material for a book on the history of architecture for Harper and Brothers. It was during this summer that the Kimballs first came to work on Thomas Jefferson. The importance of the Kimballs' work in this area to Jefferson scholarship can hardly be overemphasized. For their own career paths, it was transformative.

Today, Thomas Jefferson's architectural works, including his own residence at Monticello and the Academical Village at the University of Virginia, are well known and have been studied extensively. In the early twentieth century, however, the hundreds of architectural drawings Jefferson had produced were languishing in obscurity, and that aspect of his life had been largely forgotten. Fiske already suspected that there was important work to be done on Jefferson's architectural endeavors but had not yet pursued the subject. As it happened, it was Marie who made the first substantial investigations into the topic. Fiske later told the story of how this came about in his draft memoirs: "Among my papers there was a little slip on which I had jotted 'Jefferson as an Architect.' . . . Marie saw this slip and said, 'That looks like a good subject. Can I have it?' She effectively ran down various allusions which indicated Jefferson had indubitably made drawings, some of which might well survive among his manuscripts."

The Kimballs by this time had moved to Ann Arbor, where Fiske had been hired as an instructor in architecture and fine arts at the University of Michigan. When they learned that a substantial group of Jefferson papers, including architectural drawings, had recently been deposited at the Massachusetts Historical Society by Jefferson descendants, Fiske made arrangements to travel back east to examine them. Ultimately, Fiske took the lead on the project: "When I showed these [drawings] to Marie on my return, she felt it was not a job for her but for me, and I started doing a paper for the *Harvard Architectural Quarterly* on the original designs of Monticello."[9]

Marie wrote often to her new in-laws, and while her letters to her mother-in-law discuss mostly her social life and ongoing efforts to furnish and deco-

rate her house, her letters to her father-in-law, Edwin Kimball, are a rich source on Marie's early academic efforts. In May 1914 Marie wrote of both her and her husband's continuing work on the Jefferson drawings: "Sidney has been hard at work on the article for the *Harvard Quarterly* and I have been just as hard at it doing some research for him and typewriting the article."[10]

In addition to setting up her household and assisting Fiske with his research and writing, Marie took courses at the University of Michigan in architectural history, design, and composition, and she earned extra money by translating, proofreading, and editing articles for her father. One of the major projects she was involved in was the editing and publication of the Oxford German Series by American Scholars, of which her father was chief editor. Her own first publication was a contribution to this same series, a critical edition of Austrian poet Peter Rosegger's short story "Das Holzknechthaus." This effort achieved some modest recognition; Marie wrote that it was "being used in the elementary classes at Radcliffe and has been recommended for use in Harvard."[11]

Although Marie seemed to revel in domestic pursuits, writing at length to her mother-in-law about cooking and shopping for table settings, at the same time she clearly yearned for more time to work on her own scholarly projects. "When one person keeps house, sews, tries to help her husband and 'plays the social scene' there is rather little time left for other things. How I wish the days were longer! I am just bursting with ideas but can't find the peace and quiet in which to work them out."[12]

In June 1914 Fiske published the initial results of the couple's work on Jefferson's architectural drawings under his name in "Thomas Jefferson as Architect: Monticello and Shadwell," in the *Architectural Quarterly of Harvard University*. Soon after, Fiske was formally engaged to publish a study of the drawings at the Massachusetts Historical Society. Marie was ecstatic, and her letters indicate how much she considered the project hers as much as her husband's: "We are rejoicing and rejoicing over our good fortune in regard to Jefferson. It still seems too good to be true—of course it means a great deal of work for both of us! But it is work that will make Sidney's reputation . . . and certainly ought to secure him an excellent position." Months later she was exhausted but proud and excited about the results of their work: "Thomas Jefferson is progressing famously. We both feel greatly encouraged and confident of a great and glorious finish. We have a great pile of manuscript ready to send off and more is being produced every minute. How I hope people will appreciate this book! And the amount of careful and exacting work that has gone into it. It is really a monumental thing—the first and greatest of its kind in English."[13]

Thomas Jefferson, Architect was published in 1916 to great acclaim, and it still stands as an important landmark in Jefferson scholarship. Marie's letters hint at her work on the project, but Fiske's memoirs detail the true extent of her involvement, which went far beyond simple clerical assistance:

> Marie came East and worked with me every day at the Massachusetts Historical Society. She generously undertook the . . . task of canvassing Jefferson's whole correspondence for letters which might bear on the drawings. The society had earlier received from Mr. Coolidge Jefferson's private papers, some fifteen thousand, of which only a few hundred had been published. She plowed through the manuscripts of all, turning up ever so many which had a bearing, identifying, dating, and illuminating various designs. She went likewise through the published calendars of Jefferson's official papers in Washington, some twenty-five thousand, with equally rich finds. . . . Marie undertook also the dull work of comparing these marks with those of the papers used in Jefferson's correspondence, and thus dated almost all of them.[14]

Marie's father seemed to expect his daughter to research, write, and publish; in her marriage, she was able to continue as she had started. Fiske welcomed her participation in his projects and encouraged her own independent efforts. His letters and memoirs reveal his pride in his wife's keen mind and sharply honed research and writing skills.

A by-product of the folio project was Marie's own first publications on Jefferson. In 1918 she published an examination of Jefferson's correspondence with Madame de Staël in the *North American Review*, an influential literary magazine. "It consists of some letters from Mme de Staël which I found in the Library of Congress last year and Jefferson's replies to them," she explained to her father-in-law. "A couple of the latter were printed in his Works, but the rest of the material is unknown. . . . Her letters were in French, in the worst hand I have ever seen. I translated them and wrote an introduction to the series." Marie followed this article with another on Jefferson's relationship with his favorite granddaughter, Ellen, and a third on his relationship with his protégé, William Short. These articles represent some of the very first scholarship on Jefferson based on his many letters and papers, which had only recently been made available in public archives.[15]

In the fall of 1919 Fiske Kimball was appointed the head of the new Department of Architecture and Fine Arts at the University of Virginia, in Charlottesville. The Kimballs remained there until Fiske took a position on the faculty of New York University in 1923; two years later Fiske was hired as the director of the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art in Philadelphia (today the Philadelphia Museum of Art), and it was there that the Kimballs finally made their permanent home. They purchased and restored Lemon Hill, a mansion built about 1800 in Philadelphia's Fairmount Park.

While Marie Kimball continued to study and publish on various aspects of Thomas Jefferson for the rest of her life, perhaps her most important and enduring contribution to his legacy was in the restoration of Monticello, his beloved home outside Charlottesville. In 1923, after almost a hundred years of private

ownership, Monticello had been purchased by the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation (TJMF), which intended to restore the estate to its Jefferson-era appearance and open it as a museum. That same year, Fiske Kimball was invited by the foundation's president, Stuart Gibboney, to form a committee within the American Institute of Architects to advise the foundation on the mansion's restoration. Soon after, Fiske was appointed chairman of Monticello's restoration committee, a position he would hold for the rest of his life.[16]

Almost immediately, the Kimballs and the TJMF began forging relationships with the descendants of Thomas Jefferson and soliciting donations of furniture and other objects that had been passed down in the family. However, research into contemporary documents was also required to verify the authenticity of potential acquisitions and provide a basis for the historically accurate placement of objects inside the house. In May 1927 Marie made her fateful trip to Washington, D.C., to "look up various matters." This is the first record of Marie's formal involvement with Monticello. She had taken the train to Washington and visited the Library of Congress, where she located and examined Jefferson's account books, the massive packing list from his return from his ambassadorship to France in 1789, accounts written by visitors to Monticello, and other documents that were and continue to be vital in the interpretation of Monticello.[17]

Using these sources, Marie Kimball began to piece together a picture of Monticello's original interior appearance during Jefferson's lifetime. Monticello had had several owners since Jefferson's death in 1826. While they had preserved the structure, for the most part they did not attempt to furnish the house as Jefferson had. Thus, Marie Kimball's forays represented the first research on the original interior furnishings of Monticello. Her findings were published in 1927, in a two-part article in *Antiques*, under her own name. This was the world's first glimpse of Monticello as Jefferson had known it. The article laid out in meticulous detail the sources that Marie had uncovered to document the contents of the house. It discussed how these sources had been used to verify "Jefferson relics" presented by descendants and other potential donors, or to acquire appropriate reproductions, and demonstrated how visitor accounts and inventories had given clues to where objects should be placed in the house. This body of research laid the groundwork for all future interior restoration efforts at Monticello, even to this day.[18]

Marie followed this article with several others in a similar vein in 1929: "Thomas Jefferson's French Furniture" and "The Original Furnishings of the White House," both published in *The Magazine Antiques* (previously called *Antiques)*, and another in *House Beautiful*, "Jefferson's Furniture Comes Home to Monticello." Two years later, her interest in Jefferson led her to conceive a book-length project on "Americans in Paris." As she told Ira Kent of Houghton Mifflin, "I'm all hopped up over it and tempted to abandon thoughts of cookery and such mundane subjects in order to put this first, provided you will give me

a contract." This project apparently never came to fruition, but other publishing opportunities presented themselves. In July 1932 Dumas Malone, editor of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, invited her to contribute an article on William Short. Until this point, Marie had been published in largely popular venues; Malone's invitation allowed her to begin presenting her work in a more scholarly publication.[19]

Shortly thereafter, she returned to historical research in "cookery and such mundane subjects." In January 1933 Marie published an article titled "The Epicure of the White House" in the *Virginia Quarterly Review*, a literary magazine produced by the University of Virginia. In May of that year she wrote to Stuart Gibboney, suggesting that she adapt the essay as an introduction to a book of recipes the foundation had received from Fannie Burke, a Jefferson descendant. "Even in this dismal age, cook books still seem to sell," she remarked. Gibboney agreed to the suggestion, and Marie set to work, researching, adapting the recipes for modern kitchens, and testing them. The result of Marie's efforts was the *Thomas Jefferson Cook Book*, published by Garrett and Massie in 1938. It is now understood that many of the recipes included in the "Monticello Recipes" section of the book, which consists of recipes in the book obtained from Fannie Burke, were recorded after Jefferson's death and had little or no connection to Monticello. Thus, the *Thomas Jefferson Cook Book* misrepresents to some extent the food culture at Monticello. There is also scant mention of the fact that much of the food for Jefferson's household was prepared by enslaved cooks; the book also includes several spurious "food myths" about Jefferson, namely, that he had been the first to introduce both macaroni and vanilla to the United States. Still, *Thomas Jefferson's Cook Book* was the first serious examination of foodways at Monticello in print, and the only book-length treatment of the topic available until the Thomas Jefferson Foundation's publication of *Dining at Monticello* in 2005.[20] For better or worse, the influence of Marie Kimball's book has been enduring.

Marie followed the *Thomas Jefferson Cook Book* with the *Martha Washington Cook Book* in 1940, a project that had grown out of a 1930 article in the *Saturday Evening Post*. Her books on historic cookery led to other projects for popular audiences, including a promotional recipe collection for the Morrell Ham Company, *Treasured Recipes of the Old South* (1941), and an article for *McCall's*, "Feast Days at Monticello" (published posthumously in 1955).[21]

Unfortunately, the preservation of Marie Kimball's papers appears to have been somewhat uneven, and what does survive is disorganized and divided between several different archives. Some general patterns in her involvement in Monticello can be discerned, however. Throughout the late 1920s and most of the 1930s, there are very few letters relating to activities at Monticello, but starting in 1939 they become much more abundant. It is unclear whether this is a reflection of her pattern of involvement with Monticello or simply an artifact

of the haphazard survival of her papers. One reason for this pattern may also be that more funds became available for furnishing activities by 1940, when the foundation finally paid off its mortgage debt. Correspondence also only documents activities during Marie's absences from Virginia. However, it is clear that she dealt directly with foundation officers on a variety of subjects, met and corresponded with Jefferson descendants, and received and responded to queries from the public regarding Jefferson-related objects (or "relics," as they were often called at the time) from very early on. By 1939 and through the early 1940s she appeared to be taking a more hands-on role. Among other activities, she corresponded with local contractors and businesses regarding restoration and care of objects in the house and outdoor seating for visitors; performed some rather extensive investigations in response to a question of a possible unauthorized reproduction of Monticello china; and dealt with a staffing issue that occurred in November 1940. In early 1944 she was involved in discussions regarding the furnishing of a "Monroe Room" at Monticello by a wealthy donor.

One of Marie Kimball's notable but heretofore anonymous accomplishments on behalf of the fledgling house museum was the development of Monticello's first brochures and handouts. In the spring of 1940 she had corresponded over several months with Stuart Gibboney to arrange for the publication and sale of a booklet titled "The Furnishings of Monticello" (an adaptation of her earlier articles) in the Monticello museum shop, for which she was to receive partial royalties. In the summer of 1944 she composed new text for the foundation's brochure at the behest of William Hildreth, the TJMF's secretary/treasurer, and in early 1946 she responded to B. Winston Taliaferro's suggestion of another handout on "What to See at Monticello," which snowballed into discussions of producing a catalogue of objects. The object catalogue never materialized, but the guidebooks were duly composed and printed. This was the earliest incarnation of the guidebook that Monticello still distributes free to visitors.[22]

In 1935 the Kimballs purchased a tract of land north of Charlottesville and built a small house there, designed by Fiske and incorporating Jeffersonian architectural elements. Fiske had wanted to name the house "Tusculum" after an ancient Roman city, but the local name for the property, Shack Mountain, persisted. This house became the Kimballs' residence for part of the year when they visited Virginia to attend to their work at Monticello.[23]

By the late 1930s, in addition to her increased involvement at Monticello, Marie was beginning work on a full-length biography of Jefferson. Fiske's correspondence with Tom Coward at Marie's publisher, Coward-McCann, offers an illuminating glimpse into the Kimballs' relationship. Writing to Coward in March 1942, Fiske engaged in a bit of verbal arm-twisting: "I have always written all Marie's blurbs as she is much too modest to do it herself. . . . Marie laughs at any hope she could land the Book-of-the-Month, but I really believe that the material is so novel and extensive, and the whole conception of Jefferson which

emerges is so new and interesting, that, with sufficient salesmanship on your part, something of the kind might be done." In another letter to Coward, Fiske stated confidently that "we will settle for the Pulitzer Prize in biography." Fiske not only wrote "all of Marie's blurbs" but also took it on himself to write an entire chapter of the first volume for her, focusing on the construction of Monticello. Whatever Fiske's intentions, Marie by no means accepted the offering wholesale. The draft is peppered with her critical handwritten comments ("too detailed," she wrote on one page), and the published version differs noticeably from Fiske's draft. Just as Marie assisted Fiske with his research, it seems that he assisted her with hers. Research notes and proofreading marks in Fiske's hand also appear with some frequency in Marie's papers at the University of Virginia.[24]

The first volume of Marie's biography, *Jefferson, the Road to Glory, 1743 to 1776*, appeared in 1943, in time for the two hundredth anniversary of Jefferson's birth. At the time, it was generally well reviewed in scholarly journals. In 1945 she was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship in support of continued work on the biography. Two subsequent volumes appeared in 1947 and 1950, respectively: *Jefferson, War and Peace, 1776 to 1784*, and *Jefferson, the Scene of Europe, 1784 to 1789*. The manuscript for a fourth volume is in Marie's papers at the University of Virginia, but it was never published. Marie suffered from a heart condition that grew more serious as time passed, and her worsening health seems to be the most likely reason her Jefferson biography was never finished. She reportedly promised four more volumes at the time the first was published, "if I live long enough." Even though it remained uncompleted, her biography was an ambitious endeavor, notable for its meticulous research and explicit use of manuscript sources, as well as its particular attention to Jefferson's family relationships and social milieu. However, the first two volumes of Dumas Malone's now-canonical six-volume biography made their appearance directly on the heels of Marie's effort, more or less superseding her work. Malone's biography also had the advantage of eventually being completed, although it took thirty-three years.[25]

Just after the publication of the first volume of her Jefferson biography, Marie was appointed curator of Monticello at the meeting of the board of directors of the TJMF in 1944. No discussion that might illuminate how the board came to this decision is recorded. However, the appointment was by no means unwarranted. Marie had for years been heavily involved in many aspects of the operation of Monticello as a house museum: directing object care, placement, and labeling; rotating items on display; arranging object loans; and coordinating structural repairs. She also continued to answer a high volume of inquiries from the public, many of which came to Monticello because of her authorship of the Jefferson biographies; some of these even came from overseas. Her publishing activities, too, worked to the benefit of Monticello, as one of the stated strategies

of the TJMF in encouraging visitation was to increase visibility of Thomas Jefferson in the public media. Marie's four books and more than twenty articles about Jefferson, in publications ranging from scholarly journals to women's magazines, certainly helped place Jefferson more prominently in the public eye.[26]

Marie's superior in her position as curator at Monticello was her husband, Fiske. In the 1940s the curator was a member of the restoration committee, under the supervision of the committee's chairman. (Marie, in fact, sometimes referred to Fiske as "the boss" or "my boss" in her letters to friends and colleagues, although these comments seem to be somewhat tongue-in-cheek.) In their correspondence with others, both Marie and Fiske show a great deal of overlap in their activities. They seemed to have had a somewhat fluid attitude toward their respective roles. There are certainly the expected instances of collaboration and consultation, but there are also many examples on both sides of independent initiative and action. Indeed, this system may have had its drawbacks, as the Kimballs appear to have stepped on each other's toes at least once. In 1948 Marie wrote to Frank Houston, president of the foundation, "The curator hears that a number of new display cases are about to be ordered for Monticello. She would like to say that she is not entirely in agreement with this." Houston replied, "I have your letter with regard to the showcases that Fiske has ordered for Monticello. This is something that you and he should get together on." Marie's reply to that, if any, is not in evidence.[27]

Occasional disagreements notwithstanding, Marie's and Fiske's letters conveyed to their various correspondents that they had a deep personal devotion, as well as a supportive and mutually respectful professional relationship. They even coauthored an article together for *The Magazine Antiques* in 1947, "Jefferson's Curtains at Monticello," which was an interesting blend of Marie's research on furnishings and Fiske's architectural expertise, and an excellent demonstration of how both Marie's and Fiske's documentary research drove specific restoration processes and decisions. How much work Marie did at Monticello in comparison to Fiske, and more broadly, how much Marie may have had a hand in Fiske's work and vice versa, is difficult to determine. Fiske left many more records of his work; Marie left one box of papers in the TJMF Archives to Fiske's eleven; in the Fiske Kimball Papers at the Philadelphia Museum of Art Archives, only thirteen boxes contain material produced by Marie or otherwise directly connected to her, out of 218 boxes of material. However, these numbers certainly do not tell the full story. There are many letters that were explicitly addressed to one Kimball but requested a consultation with the other partner, or relayed a message from him or her, or both. Beyond these examples, it seems more than likely that the Kimballs had input into each other's projects and correspondence that simply is not reflected in the surviving documentary record.[28]

Over her lifetime, Marie came to know and often collaborate with many of the now-famous names in Jefferson scholarship. Although she herself was not

an academic, her work on Jefferson and Monticello naturally brought her into the sphere of others who were, and she earned their respect and often friendship. When Julian Boyd at Princeton University commenced the monumental definitive edition of the Papers of Thomas Jefferson, he consulted Marie on a number of questions, writing to her that he would respect her opinion as "authoritative." She traced Jefferson's footsteps on the ground in Paris alongside Howard C. Rice Jr., a member of Boyd's editorial staff and later author of *Thomas Jefferson's Paris*. She corresponded and consulted with Helen Bullock and Francis Berkeley at the University of Virginia Library, E. Millicent Sowerby at the Library of Congress (editor of the exhaustive five-volume *Catalogue of Thomas Jefferson's Library*), and Gilbert Chinard, editor of Jefferson's legal commonplace book, among many other works. When the *Virginia Quarterly Review* published a special issue in the spring of 1943 for the two hundredth anniversary of Jefferson's birth, Marie was the only woman included in the list of twelve Jefferson scholars who contributed essays.[29]

In 1949 Marie became the first woman ever invited to give the annual Founder's Day address on Thomas Jefferson's birthday, April 13, at the University of Virginia. She had prepared a paper on "Jefferson and the Literati of Paris," but on the morning of Founder's Day she had a minor heart attack. Although she was present at the ceremony, her doctors advised against her actually giving the address, so Fiske read the paper in her stead.[30]

Marie's heart trouble continued to worsen as she entered her sixties. When Fiske was awarded the prestigious Philadelphia Award in 1950 for his service as director of the Philadelphia Museum of Art to the local community, he used the $10,000 prize money to have a lift installed in their house in Philadelphia so that Marie could avoid the strain of climbing the stairs. Shack Mountain in Charlottesville had been specifically designed by Fiske as a single-story home for the same reason. She was ill the entire winter of 1950–51, and in March 1951 she suffered another heart attack so severe that it apparently led her to believe she did not have long to live.[31]

As it happened, Marie survived four more years, and although her health was a constant worry, she managed to remain productive. The year 1950 was a particularly active one for her at Monticello. She also continued to publish, producing another article in 1951 on "Jefferson's Works of Art at Monticello," based on a manuscript inventory that had recently been donated to the University of Virginia; an essay on Jefferson and religion for the *Jefferson Reader* (Dutton, 1953); and a number of reviews of Jefferson-related books. In 1951 the foundation also began an overhaul of its tour system, replacing the African American guides with "hostesses" who were trained to give a standard tour. Marie collaborated with Fiske in developing the script for the new, more structured tours.[32]

During the early 1950s it became apparent that Fiske was becoming mentally unstable. His behavior became increasingly erratic; he was often rambling and

forgetful, and he occasionally shouted at art museum staff in Philadelphia without provocation and even insulted donors on several occasions. Ultimately he was asked to step down from his position as director of the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Although Fiske reportedly attributed his condition to worry about Marie's health, his unstable and sometimes frightening behavior in turn placed even more strain on Marie. During her last few years she was very frail; Terry Tillman, one of the hostesses at Monticello, recalled that the last time she saw the Kimballs, Marie "was so ill she sat several times on her walk through [the house] to take medication." Just a few months later, on March 2, 1955, Marie suffered a massive heart attack, dying later that day in a hospital in Philadelphia. She was sixty-four years old. Her funeral was held in Philadelphia, and her body was then transported to Shack Mountain in Virginia, where another service took place. Fiske buried Marie in the yard behind the house. Marie's death utterly devastated Fiske, and in the following months his mental state took an even worse turn. In April he traveled to Europe to visit friends, and it was there that he died only five months later, in August 1955.[33]

Marie and Fiske began their research on Jefferson during a very crucial time. Those who had known Jefferson personally were gone, but scholars were only just beginning to explore Jefferson's papers to create a narrative of his life and thoughts. The Kimballs had higher standards than many in this regard. In one of her many published book reviews, Marie scorned another biographer for relying solely on published editions of Jefferson's papers rather than investigating the actual manuscripts. And while Fiske's treatment of Jefferson's architectural drawings was revolutionary, in many ways Marie deserves as much credit for forging new ground in her research into Jefferson's letters and other documents. Her work is also notable for her focus on aspects of Jefferson's life that had been given little or no attention up to that point by other scholars. Marie was one of the first, if not the first, scholar to investigate in detail Jefferson's relationships with women, as well as his interest in food, furniture, and artwork. Her work in many of these areas is still relied on by those following in her footsteps. The documentary research that Marie did on the furnishings of Monticello has been critical and enduring. The sources that she uncovered in her 1927 trip to the Library of Congress are the same sources that Monticello curators still consult in their work.

Marie and Fiske's efforts in researching and restoring Monticello were at the absolute cutting edge of historic preservation, a field that was still in its infancy in their lifetimes. In the early twentieth century the field of historic preservation was gradually becoming professionalized. Trained historians, architects, and curators began working in the field in increasing numbers, introducing an academic rigor and systematic methodology to the study and preservation of historic buildings and landscapes. The Kimballs were in the vanguard of this new wave of professionals, with a strict reliance on research and documentary

sources in their restorations. Their work set a precedent for standards of historical accuracy in restoration and interpretation at Monticello that has endured to this day.[34]

Marie was also one of relatively few women who were working professionally in historic preservation during the early years of the twentieth century. Although small numbers of female curators, researchers, and conservators were employed in the field during that time period, the story of women in historic preservation during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is largely one of voluntary groups, such as the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association and the Garden Club of Virginia. Women did not begin entering the field of historic preservation in large numbers as professionals until the 1970s. Monticello, in contrast with other historic sites such as Mount Vernon, was run by an all-male governing body, and Marie was one of only a handful of women on staff until the foundation began to employ females as tour guides in 1951. While it can be fairly said that Marie came to her work at Monticello through her husband, she was always personally involved and made important contributions on the strength of her own talents.[35]

Marie Kimball's contributions to the preservation of Monticello and her place in the field at large have, for the most part, gone unrecognized. Marie receives only a few brief mentions in any of the books or articles that have been published on the history of Monticello in the twentieth century. The story of Monticello as it has been told until now is all the poorer for the absence of Marie Kimball. She represents a unique and fascinating case in the history of Monticello and in the wider world of historic preservation. She was a force to be reckoned with in her own time and is well worth further study in ours. "Marie Kimball," as her friend Jane Moore affirmed, "was not to be overlooked."[36]

NOTES

I would like to thank Jack Robertson, foundation librarian at the Jefferson Library, for his support, guidance, and many informative conversations about the Kimballs. Susan Anderson, the Martha Hamilton Morris Archivist at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, provided invaluable help in plumbing the depths of the Fiske Kimball Papers. Jane Moore shared many memorable stories of her relationship with the Kimballs and graciously listened as I shared my early research on Marie with her. Elizabeth Chew, former associate curator at Monticello, helped me place Marie Kimball's work in the larger context of Monticello's decades-long restoration. I am also grateful to Lisa Francavilla, Nini Almy, and Kristen Lochrie, who were kind enough to read and comment on earlier versions of this manuscript.

1. "Marie Kimball Dies; Wrote Biographies," *New York Times*, March 3, 1955, 27.

2. In this essay I refer to both Marie Kimball and her husband by their first names to avoid confusion. "Now that I Have Died: A Farewell to My Beloved Ones," April 9, 1951, printed in *Marie Goebel Kimball, June 7, 1889–March 2, 1955* (funeral booklet), [Philadelphia?], 1955.

3. Much of the biographical information on Julius Goebel is taken from Marie Kimball, "Julius Goebel," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 32 (1932): 529–56.

4. Multiple documents relating to Goebel's conflicts with Dr. Wood and the lawsuit against the *Belletristisches Journal* can be found in Box 2 (Correspondence, 1880–1905), Julius Goebel Papers,

Library of Congress (hereafter JGP:LC). Many documents relating to Dr. Goebel's removal from Stanford are also contained in this collection; for an overview of the latter, see W. B. Carnochan, "The Case of Julius Goebel: Stanford, 1905," *American Scholar* 72, no. 3 (2003): 95–108; Theodore Roosevelt to Julius Goebel, August 3, 1905, Julius Goebel Papers, JGP:LC; Marie Kimball, "Julius Goebel," 535.

5. Kathryn Goebel to Julius Goebel, undated letter [after April 18, 1906]; Kathryn Goebel to Julius Goebel, April 20, 1906; Kathryn Goebel, telegram to Mariell Halstead, April 21, 1906; and Julius Goebel to unknown [name illegible], undated, all in Box 3, Julius Goebel Papers, LC.

6. *Semi-centennial Alumni Record of the University of Illinois* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1918), 417; Barbara Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986), 64.

7. For an excellent brief overview of Fiske Kimball's life and scholarship, see the historical note in the finding aid for the Fiske Kimball Papers at the Philadelphia Museum of Art Archives, available online at http://www.philamuseum.org/pma_archives/ead.php?c=FKP&p=hn (accessed August 15, 2015).

8. George Roberts and Mary Roberts, *Triumph on Fairmount: Fiske Kimball and the Philadelphia Museum of Art* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1959), 31. The Robertses were friends of the Kimballs who later published this book based on their recollections and on papers and memoirs left by the Kimballs (primarily Fiske). I cite this work only in instances when no other primary source can be found; "Prominent Couple Wed Qtietly [*sic*]," *Urbana Daily Courier*, June 7, 1913.

9. Fiske Kimball, Memoirs, Box 159, Folder 5, pp. 4, 6, Fiske Kimball Papers, Philadelphia Museum of Art Archives (hereafter FKP:PMA).

10. Marie Kimball to Edwin Fiske Kimball, May 22, 1914, Box 46, Folder 3, FKP:PMA.

11. Marie Kimball to Edwin Fiske Kimball, March 4, 1914, Box 46, Folder 3, FKP:PMA.

12. Ibid.

13. Fiske Kimball, "Thomas Jefferson as Architect: Monticello and Shadwell," *Architectural Quarterly of Harvard University* 2, no. 4 (1914): 89–137; Marie Kimball to Edwin Fiske Kimball, February 14, 1915, Box 46, Folder 3, FKP:PMA; Marie Kimball to Edwin Fiske Kimball, November 22, 1915, Box 46, Folder 3, FKP:PMA.

14. Fiske Kimball, Memoirs, 8.

15. Marie Kimball to Edwin Fiske Kimball, June 3, 1918, Box 46, Folder 6, FKP:PMA; "A Playmate of Thomas Jefferson," *North American Review* 213 (1921): 145–56; "William Short, Jefferson's Only 'Son,'" *North American Review* 223 (1926): 471–86. The largest body of Jefferson documents had been deposited in the Library of Congress in the 1850s, but most of the other large groups of papers did not arrive at their present repositories until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (e.g., Massachusetts Historical Society, 1898, 1911, 1913 and 1957, and Missouri History Museum, c. 1917).

16. Stuart Gibboney to Fiske Kimball, April 20, 1923, Box 78, Folder 4, FKP:PMA.

17. Fiske Kimball to TJMF, May 19, 1927, Box 20, Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation (TJMF) Archives, Special Collections, Jefferson Library, Charlottesville, Virginia (hereafter JL).

18. "The Furnishing of Monticello, Part I," *Antiques* 12, no. 5 (1927): 380–85, and "The Furnishing of Monticello, Part II," *Antiques* 12, no. 6 (1927): 482–86. (Note: *Antiques* changed its title to *The Magazine Antiques* in 1928.)

19. "Thomas Jefferson's French Furniture," *Magazine Antiques* 15, no. 2 (1929): 123–28; "The Original Furnishings of the White House, Part I," *Magazine Antiques* 15, no. 6 (1929): 481–86; "The Original Furnishings of the White House, Part II," *Magazine Antiques* 16, no. 1 (1929): 33–38; "Jefferson's Furniture Comes Home to Monticello," *House Beautiful* 66, no. 2 (1929): 164–65, 186, 188, 190; Marie Kimball to Ira Rich Kent, June 19, 1931, Box 8, Marie Goebel Kimball Papers, c. 1920–1955, Accession #5232, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia (hereafter MGKP:UVA); Dumas Malone to Marie Kimball, July 5, 1932, Box 15, MGKP:UVA.

20. Marie Kimball, "The Epicure of the White House," *Virginia Quarterly Review* 9 (1933): 71–81; Marie Kimball to Gibboney, May 25, 1933. A photocopy of this letter is in the reference copy of

Thomas Jefferson's Cook Book at the Jefferson Library in Charlottesville, Virginia, but the location of the original in the TJMF Archives is unknown.

21. Marie Kimball, *The Martha Washington Cook Book* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1940); Marie Kimball, "Vittles and Viands," *Saturday Evening Post*, December 6, 1930, 20–21; Marie Kimball, *Treasured Recipes of the Old South* (Ottumwa, Ia.: J. Morrell, 1941); Marie Kimball, "Feast Days at Monticello," *McCall's*, November 1955, 42–47, 84–86.

22. James A. Bear notes that "as funds became available after 1940 the restoration, renovation, decorating and furnishing the mansion house and out buildings took on an added tempo." "Monticello since 1826: The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation: A Short History" (unpublished manuscript, 1990), 18, Special Collections, JL; for correspondence relating to the Spode reproductions, see various letters, June 1–23, 1942, Box 24, Folder: Correspondence, 1942–1944, TJMF Archives; Hildreth to Kimball, July 24, 1944, and Kimball to Hildreth, July 30, 1944, Box 24, Folder: Correspondence, 1942–1944, TJMF Archives; various letters, January 1946, Box 24, Folder: Correspondence, 1945–46, TJMF Archives.

23. Jane Tarleton Smith Moore, interview by William L. Beiswanger, Jack Robertson, and Chad Wollerton, October 20, 2005, video recording, TJMF Archives; correspondence relating to the Kimballs' acquisition of the Shack Mountain property is in Box 90, Folder 7, FKP:PMA. On the Kimballs' death in 1955, the house was willed to the Philadelphia Museum of Art and eventually was acquired by Jane and Bedford Moore, friends of the Kimballs.

24. FK to Tom Coward, March 26, 1942, Box 12, Folder 3, FKP:PMA; Fiske Kimball to Coward, May 12, 1941, Box 12, Folder 3, FKP:PMA; "The House on the Mountain" (draft chapter for *Jefferson, The Road to Glory, 1743 to 1776*), Box 164, Folder 33, FKP:PMA.

25. Henry Allen Moe, Secretary General, John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, to Kimball, April 24, 1945, Box 24, Folder: Correspondence 1945–46, TJMF Archives; Roberts and Roberts, *Triumph on Fairmount*, 282.

26. TJMF Board of Directors Meeting Minutes, May 27, 1944, JL; see various letters, Box 24, Folders: Correspondence, 1945–46 and 1947–48, TJMF Archives; see, for example, Helmut Reichel to Marie Kimball, July 16, 1949, Box 24, Folder: Correspondence 1949, TJMF Archives.

27. Marie Kimball to Frank Houston, May 28, [1948], and Houston to Marie Kimball, June 2, 1948, Box 24, Folder: Correspondence, 1947–48, TJMF Archives.

28. A good example of this is Marie Kimball to Marianne Keller, December 31, 1949, in which Marie references a conversation she had with Keller "the other day" and sends her a long list of decisions she and Fiske have made after discussion, in Box 24, Folder: Correspondence 1949, TJMF Archives.

29. Boyd to Kimball, July 12, 1944, Box 24, Folder: Correspondence, 1942–1944, TJMF Archives.

30. "Jefferson Speaker Hits Trend; University Honors Its Founder," *Charlottesville Daily Progress*, April 13, 1949, 1, 3. A typescript of the address can be found in Box 15, MGKP:UVA. The newspaper article states only that Marie had an "illness," but George and Mary Roberts state that she had a heart attack the morning of the ceremony (see *Triumph on Fairmount*, 269).

31. "Museum Head Honored: Philadelphia Award of 1950 Given to Fiske Kimball," *New York Times*, March 8, 1951, 33; see also Roberts and Roberts, *Triumph on Fairmount*, 281; Fiske Kimball to Clayton Torrence, May 21, 1951, Box 16, MGKP:UVA. Marie composed a farewell letter to her loved ones dated April 9, 1951, which was later printed in her funeral booklet. See "Now that I Have Died."

32. "Jefferson's Works of Art at Monticello," *Magazine Antiques* 59 (1951): 297–99; "Thomas Jefferson and Religion," in Francis Coleman Rosenberger, ed., *Jefferson Reader: A Treasury of Writings about Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Dutton, 1953), 161–67; various reviews, including "Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson. Volume I by E. Millicent Sowerby," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 77, no. 2 (1953): 216–18, and "The Head and Heart of Thomas Jefferson by John Dos Passos," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 78, no. 3 (1954): 376–78; James A. Bear, "Showing Monticello: Present and Future," draft report to Ad Hoc Committee on Interpre-

tation, Box 98, Folder: Topical—Interpretation, Ad Hoc Committee (reports, notes), 1977–1978, TJMF Archives.

33. Fiske's downward spiral, particularly as it related to his directorship of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, is described in detail in Roberts and Roberts, *Triumph on Fairmount*, 296–311; Terry Tillman, "Recollections," March 3, 1992, Jefferson Library, Charlottesville, Virginia; "Mrs. Fisk [*sic*] Kimball, An Authority on Jefferson, Dies," *Charlottesville Daily Progress*, March 4, 1955, 3. Marie was later exhumed, and although both Marie and Fiske had requested to be buried in the Jefferson family graveyard on the Monticello grounds, their request was denied and they were both buried in Monticello Memorial Park, along the road leading up to Monticello. For the Kimballs' burial request and an account of the funeral at Shack Mountain, see Jane Moore interview.

34. For background on the historic preservation movement in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Charles B. Hosmer Jr., *Presence of the Past* (New York: Putnam, 1965); Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926–1949* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981); James M. Lindgren, *Preserving the Old Dominion: Historic Preservation and Virginia Traditionalism* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993).

35. For background on women in historic preservation, see Barbara J. Howe, "Women in Historic Preservation: The Legacy of Ann Pamela Cunningham," *Public Historian* 12, no. 1 (1990): 31–61; Lindgren, *Preserving the Old Dominion*; Kendall Taylor, "Pioneering Efforts of Early Museum Women," in Jane R. Glaser and Artemis A. Zenetou, eds., *Gender Perspectives: Essays on Women in Museums* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 11–27; James M. Lindgren, "'A New Departure in Historic, Patriotic Work': Personalism, Professionalism, and Conflicting Concepts of Material Culture in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Public Historian* 18, no. 2 (1996): 41–60; Gail Lee Dubrow and Jennifer B. Goodwin, eds., *Restoring Women's History through Historic Preservation* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); Bear, "Monticello since 1826." A good brief overview can be found in Sandra Riccio and Sue Pringle, "Women and Historic Preservation," *Historic Preservation Bulletin* (New Jersey Department of Environmental Protection), Fall 2001, 6–9, available at http://www.nj.gov/dep/hpo/hpb_fall2001.pdf (accessed August 15, 2015). Other women on staff included the hostesses, the president's secretary, and the gift shop manager.

36. For published histories of the TJMF, see Merrill Peterson, *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), 380–94; Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, 153–92; *Celebrating Seventy-Five Years of Preservation and Education: The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, Inc., 1923–1998* (Charlottesville, Va.: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, 1998); Patricia West, *Domesticating History* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999), 93–127; Francis D. Cogliano, *Thomas Jefferson: Reputation and Legacy* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006), 106–36. A more substantial but narrowly focused treatment of Marie's work at Monticello can be found in Megan Stubbendeck, "A Woman's Touch: Gender at Monticello, 1945–1960," in Jonathan Daniel Wells and Sheila R. Phipps, eds., *Entering the Fray: Gender, Politics, and Culture in the New South* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2010), 118–35.

Vivian Carter Mason

Community Feminist

CASSANDRA NEWBY-ALEXANDER

The year 1954 "was the morning of my discontent and it became a theme song," said Vivian Carter Mason, president of the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW). "And it meant something like magic to go on and to struggle, and to fight, and to try to convince people of the rightness of Mrs. Bethune's dream. . . . And that was what Mrs. Bethune wanted: that black women should join hands." The weight of these trying times was evident in Mason's characterization as the United States awakened to the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision and the furor that followed. A year later, Mason's challenges increased following the death of her dear friend and mentor, noted educator and civil rights leader Mary McLeod Bethune. Mason was determined to use all her discipline and training to ensure that the NCNW would sustain its programs and realize Bethune's dreams. Mason was part of a cadre of "feminist, anti-racist, and pro-labor" women social workers and social scientists whose work had influenced New Deal legislation. They garnered the attention of red baiters who sought to demonize their legacy and negate their contributions as America slid back into its conservative roots following the end of the civil rights movement.[1] Yet, despite being labeled a threat by anti–civil rights conservatives, this staunch advocate for international women's rights demonstrated throughout her long public career that if women awakened to their morning of discontent, they could mobilize their collective power and reject society's gender-restrictive tether that impoverished millions and circumscribed their rights as citizens.

Mary McLeod Bethune proclaimed that Mason "started at the bottom of the ladder—at the lowest round—and by dint of sheer energy and industry . . . now stands as one of the foremost women in the field of social service. . . . [Her] unselfish service [opens] the way for other younger women who may follow

in her footsteps."[2] Such tribute was fortuitous from one of the most influential American black women in the twentieth century. Given during a 1941 testimonial dinner honoring Mason's position as the highest-ranking black woman in New York City's Department of Public Welfare, this accolade from Bethune served to raise the national profile of Vivian Carter Mason, whose training as a social worker made her an organizer *par excellence* in restructuring the NCNW.

For sixty years, Vivian Carter Mason was an ardent voice for civil and gender rights and a dedicated supporter of universal education. A noted civic and international leader from Norfolk, Virginia, Mason was the third president of the NCNW, serving two terms from 1953 to 1957. As a member of the NCNW's executive committee, Mason traveled the world on fact-finding tours in the aftermath of the Second World War to understand the conflict's impact on gender and civil rights, especially for people of color. As president, Mason framed the NCNW's focus on gender equality, using every opportunity as a delegate to countless international women's conferences to promote that view. Leadership in the NCNW also enabled her to hobnob with presidents and their wives, national black leaders, and international delegates, among them Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, Dwight and Mamie Eisenhower, W. E. B. DuBois, and Madame Eugénie Cotton. Mason was even appointed by President John F. Kennedy in 1961 as assistant to the chief of recruitment of the newly formed Peace Corps. Throughout her life, Mason took to heart the 1936 NCNW charter to "educate and encourage" black women to participate in civic and political activities, whether through the black club movement, voting, civic or political boards, educational activities, being a vocal supporter of global feminism, or becoming a prospective candidate for political office.[3]

Mason promoted the empowerment of blacks and women in countless speeches and newspaper articles, as well as through leadership in national and international organizations. As a major force in civil rights, her personal history provides an important glimpse into a life that paralleled the nation's twentieth-century evolution, especially regarding the role of women. In her early life Mason believed that black women were not compelled to surpass men because they "realize that to get ahead they have to work with the black man because he has been so beaten down it would be a form of self-destruction to do otherwise." Later, her outlook broadened reflecting the multiple identities of women, arguing that "women of the world, united and resolute, can be the greatest force in the history of a civilization."[4]

Mason was the fourth of eight children born to George Cook and Florence William Carter on February 10, 1899, in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. Her father, a Peachtree, Georgia, native who traveled to Elmira, New York, following the death of his mother, was befriended by a kindhearted minister and his wife shortly after his arrival. The couple took him into their home and sent him to school, where he followed in the footsteps of his newly adopted family. After en-

VIVIAN CARTER MASON, 1952

Courtesy of the *New Journal and Guide*.

MEMBERS OF THE NORFOLK CHAPTER OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN

This photograph was taken in Washington, D.C., in March 1951. Mason is in the center, standing; National Council president Mary McLeod Bethune is seated, second from right. Courtesy of the National Park Service, Mary McLeod Bethune Council House National Historic Site, National Archives for Black Women's History.

tering the ministry, George Carter accepted a position in a Methodist church in Aurora, New York. Mason's mother, Florence, was the daughter of a boat builder and cook. It was Florence's mother's experience as the cook in one of the most famous women's colleges in the nation, Wells College in Aurora, New York, that molded Florence's commitment to learning and education. Eventually Florence became a music teacher. George and Florence met in church after her mother's family moved to Auburn.[5]

Although Mason's parents were hardworking people, she grew up poor. Yet she fondly remembered her formative years filled with love, camaraderie, and life lessons, including her father's favorite motto taken from Proverbs 22:1: "A good name is better to be chosen than great riches, loving favor rather than silver or gold." This refrain imprinted itself such that years later Mason reiterated how her life was shaped by her religious upbringing, her family's experiences and values, and her life's choices.[6]

One experience that framed Mason's outlook about the power of women was her family's friendship with Harriet Tubman, a frequent guest in their home. She recalled that "as a child I could not realize what a wonderful privilege it was to have known the famed freedom fighter. . . . That they never caught up with her was always the triumphant ending of a fearful and frightening recital of days full of danger and suffering. . . . And now we know that this brave and dauntless woman revitalized the meaning of freedom not only in the days before the Civil War, but for all the decades that followed." Entertaining famous visitors such as Harriet Tubman likely expanded the Carter children's world and encouraged them to become voracious readers like their father, who especially loved the writings of Henry David Thoreau, Thomas Paine, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, reading passages from their works prior to mealtime prayers. Her mother, on the other hand, made sure the family subscribed to newspapers and magazines that provided a national and African American perspective, such as the *Boston Guardian*, the *New York Age*, the *Ladies' Home Journal*, and the *Christian Herald*. For the Carter children, knowledge, particularly about black history and human rights, were the keys to self-empowerment. Mason also became acquainted with Booker T. Washington's masterful *Up from Slavery*, which so enamored her that she memorized passages, including Washington's descriptions of the horrors of slavery. These depictions, bolstered by her father's stories of his mother's slave experiences, helped frame her perspective about the necessity of standing as a bulwark against racism.[7]

Mason's hometown of Auburn, while small, still displayed vestiges of discrimination, even though it was outlawed in New York. Her parents had taught her never to accept segregation and that organized, grassroots action can force change. Bolstered by their teachings, Mason transformed theory into action, applying the civil disobedience principles of Henry David Thoreau that were read to her frequently by her father, to her stance against discrimination by staging a small-scale sit-in to desegregate Auburn's movie theater in the late 1910s.[8]

Knowledge and determination emboldened Mason to dream of college, despite her family's poverty. Dream became reality through the unexpected generosity of two white women who paid her tuition and enabled her to enter the University of Chicago in 1921. That same year, Georgiana Simpson made history as one of the first three black women to complete her Ph.D. at the University of Chicago. Mason, however, chose to pursue a degree in political economy and social welfare, a popular major among women during the Progressive Era, when many became actively involved in transforming their communities through self-help, grassroots organizing, and education. The university's School of Sociology was known for pioneering the modern study of race and training some of the most famous black sociologists, including E. Franklin Frazier, Monroe Nathan Work, Charles Johnson, and St. Clair Drake.[9]

After graduation, Mason secured social work positions at the YWCA in Baltimore and Brooklyn, which allowed her to hone her professional skills and gain needed experience. Mason's career trajectory mirrored that of many like-minded female activists who sought remedies for black women in the Jim Crow era through social work. In 1920, for example, women made up more than two-thirds of the nation's professional social workers. For black female social workers, the challenge was to negotiate reform work within the broader context of race and gender. Mason later returned to school to complete graduate work in psychiatry at Fordham University and in psychology and physiology at Hunter College.[10]

As Mason's professional life was advancing, so were her personal fortunes. Vivian Carter met her future husband, Trinidad native William Thomas Mason (W. T.), when they were in college. W. T. had come to the United States to attend school under the sponsorship of relatives who lived in New York. Prior to enrolling, he worked on a ferry that traveled between New York and Massachusetts. Surrounded by young black college students who worked on the boat during the summer to support their education, W. T. heard about the many historically black schools along the East Coast, including Virginia Union University, located in Richmond. He decided to apply to Union and spent a few years completing his degree; he later continued his education at the University of Chicago, where he met Vivian Carter. The two would reunite after Vivian completed her graduate work, marrying on July 16, 1925, in Brooklyn and establishing a home on Boulevard Terrace in Norfolk. A year later, on July 27, the Masons welcomed their only child, William Thomas Mason Jr.[11]

Prior to their marriage, in 1922, W. T. had secured a position with the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company in Durham. The company owned a separate casualty insurance company, Banker's Fire Insurance Company, which was the only black-owned stock and fire insurance company in the country. W. T. became a licensed agent to secure contracts with black homeowners. A year later, he was sent to Norfolk and became the city's first black insurance agent, opening a Banker's Fire Insurance Company branch in the black-owned Metro-

politan Bank and Trust building as part of the Rich, Strong, Brooks General Insurance Agency. W. T. later became a licensed real estate broker, expanding his business to include real estate transactions. He also subcontracted with two major white real estate companies to insure black homeowners.[12]

Settling into Norfolk's black high society seemed easy for the couple who, at the outset, attended prominent churches and joined elite social clubs. Their social capital grew and their activities were regularly reported on the society page of the black-owned *Journal and Guide* newspaper. Some of those activities included hosting Harlem Renaissance poet Countee Cullen in 1927 and celebrations with the area's black leadership. Mason's connections outside Norfolk were assisted by her brother Elmer Carter, editor of *Opportunity* magazine, the mouthpiece of the National Urban League, who opened the door to further associations.[13]

As a woman who understood how to negotiate power and influence in the black community, Vivian Carter Mason involved herself in key organizations, including Norfolk's Phyllis Wheatley YWCA. Initially her activities were voluntary, serving on committees and addressing the group championing the expansion of roles for women and blacks and challenging notions of female intellectual inferiority. These activities revealed Mason as a community feminist. Mason also became an active member of the Alpha Kappa Alpha (AKA) sorority, where she served as president of the Norfolk chapter. In 1928 she became regional director of the AKAs and later organized a chapter at her husband's alma mater, Virginia Union in Richmond. Mason's energies seemed boundless as her devotion to making a difference involved her in a host of charitable and benevolent groups and activities, including the Clover Leaf Art Circle and the Needle Craft Art clubs. These kinds of women's clubs created communication networks that furthered her feminist agenda.[14]

Yet Mason was unfulfilled in provincial Norfolk, a city that provided few substantive activities for professional women. So, on the eve of the Great Depression in 1929, she contributed a weekly column titled "Foods for the Family," to the *Journal and Guide*, with a fourteen-thousand-person readership. This column was intended as a venue for recipe exchange and disseminating advice for handling household problems. No doubt Mason's column was influenced by the *Ladies' Home Journals* she read in her formative years. Influenced by her social work training, she wanted to educate women about their world, which, while centered in domesticity, was also a vehicle for civic empowerment.[15]

While Mason did all she could to assist women in Norfolk, working as a social worker at the privately owned Phyllis Wheatley YWCA and as a kindergarten teacher was too pedestrian for her. Mason longed to use her skills as a social worker, but there were no openings for blacks in segregated Norfolk. Discrimination in public assistance prevailed both in the federal relief programs and in religious and charitable efforts in Norfolk. She began looking elsewhere as the

Depression exacted a disproportionate toll on blacks. After hearing about available positions in New York, her husband agreed that she should move to New York to pursue her career. Moreover, they were reluctant to educate their son in a segregated and poorly funded Norfolk school. With her husband's support, in 1931 Mason moved with her son to New York to accept a position in the city's Home Relief Bureau while W. T. maintained the family home in Norfolk. W. T. purchased a brownstone on 137th Street and eventually relocated his parents to the United States from Trinidad where they could join his wife and son in New York. But, unlike many families who were separated by miles, the Masons remained close. They spent every holiday together, and W. T., Jr., spent his summer vacations at home in Norfolk.[16]

Once in New York, Mason's star shone as an employee in the welfare offices, illustrating that her talents would have been stifled in segregated Norfolk. Assisted by the "No Color Line" policy of the New York Emergency Home Relief program, Mason soon became one of four black women appointed as precinct supervisors by December 1931. Their task was to distribute aid to those adversely affected by the Depression. Between 25 and 40 percent of blacks in large urban areas, including New York, were on relief, three to four times the number of white city dwellers. The election of Franklin D. Roosevelt the following year raised expectations about the delivery of aid and the employment of blacks in key administration positions. Mason prepared for advancement and completed a degree at the New York School of Social Work. Three years later, this added degree resulted in her promotion as supervisor of one of the largest precincts in the Harlem district. In June 1935 she became administrative supervisor of the Thirty-Second Precinct of the Home Relief Bureau.[17]

Even with her qualifications, experience, and performance, Mason still faced racism in the workplace, which slowed her advancement. Not until 1938, when the home relief office was wracked with scandal and its white director, Edward Wilson, was fired because of prejudice and fraternization with some of the bureau's female supervisors, did her proverbial ship arrive. Mason, along with the other black supervisors, had been slated for dismissal, but Wilson's removal forestalled that move. The shakeup also resulted in the Emergency Relief Bureau being absorbed by the Department of Public Welfare, ultimately working to Mason's advantage. Each supervisor was required to take a competitive exam. After receiving the highest grade of any candidate who completed the Welfare Department's administrators' exam, Mason became director of the Division of Social Services, supervising more than four thousand employees, the highest civil service position in New York City's Department of Welfare held by an African American.[18]

Mason's position as an administrator in the New York Department of Welfare and her membership in national female organizations placed her among the nation's black female power brokers. She eagerly took advantage of numerous

speaking engagements and membership opportunities, becoming a member of the Women's Auxiliary of the New York Urban League and continuing her work with the West 137th Street YWCA. She also joined the New York chapter of the National Council of Negro Women, quickly rising to program committee chair, New York Metropolitan Council president, and then delegate to the annual meetings.[19]

Mason's work also enabled her to share the stage with nationally known notables such as Jennie B. Moton. She was the wife of Robert Moton, the heir apparent to the Tuskegee Machine, a powerful network of prominent blacks and whites who supported accommodationism. Moton, as president of the National Federation of Colored Women's Clubs (NFCWC), gave the keynote address at their 1938 conference at the YWCA in New York, emphasizing how the power of women comes through their organizations.[20] Following the NFCWC conference, Mason attended the fifth annual NCNW conference, placing her among the who's who of American black women. This gathering, which included suffragist and civil rights activist Mary Church Terrell, social reformer and suffragist Lugenia Burns Hope, and NCNW founder and president Mary McLeod Bethune, would be transformative for Mason. Here her associations would catapult Mason into the influential inner circles of the NCNW and her work in implementing community action.[21]

At heart, Mason was a grassroots organizer. In the 1930s she founded the One Hundred Women, which by 1939 had grown to an active charity, donating thousands of dollars to underprivileged children for camp scholarships and other needs. At the 1939 NCNW conference, where Bethune was reelected president, Mason's organizing skills were recognized when she was named to the executive board along with three others. At the same time when Mason successfully segued into the NCNW's inner circle, she was given her first opportunity to administer the Bronx district office in the New York Welfare Department. All the social workers there were Jewish and Irish, giving Mason her first taste of interracial cooperation.[22]

The 1940s brought Mason increasingly to the forefront as a popular speaker among women's organizations. But, unlike before, there was urgency in her messages, perhaps brought on by the rise of Nazism and the onset of the Second World War. In what was described as a fiery luncheon address to AKA at the World's Fair in New York in July 1940, Mason argued that women needed to awaken to how the challenges of economic and social discrimination, widespread unemployment, armament buildup, and the denial of civil liberties in the courts were still threats that must be defeated. The final trial would essentially be an aggressive militaristic state, similar to the ones currently at war in Europe. She reminded the gathering that "things worth working for may be some day worth dying for."[23] In past speeches Mason's messages mirrored her role as a relief bureau supervisor and the challenges posed by the Depression. After 1940,

however, Mason's perspective represented a sea change with an urgent challenge to international racism and discrimination in all its forms.

This passion brought Mason closer to the woman who introduced her to powerful circles in government. Countless letters exchanged between Mason and her mentor, Mary McLeod Bethune, highlighted the growing friendship and tender relationship the two shared. Both Bethune and Mason shared a vision about female empowerment and unity and boundless energy to accomplish this dream. It was Mary McLeod Bethune who organized Mason's many contacts with the White House. She was among the delegation of 368 NCNW members who had tea at the White House and met with First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt as part of a three-day session during their ninth annual meeting in 1940. Hubert T. Delany, a future domestic relations court judge in New York and a staunch advocate for civil rights, advised the NCNW delegates that they were "the real directors of progress." "If we are in truth to have a new frontier, then it must be set by the action and support of our women. . . . It is the duty of our women to see that this new order is created and will have the support of our Government."[24]

At the conclusion of the NCNW conference, Mason read the adopted seven-point program, including the plan to acquire a headquarters at 1318 Vermont Avenue NW in Washington, D.C., and an initiative to preserve the history of black women in America. The NCNW also called on President Roosevelt to issue an executive order allowing the admission and training of blacks in the U.S. armed forces on an equal basis. The resolution broadly condemned segregation at all levels of society.[25] Clearly, the NCNW and Mason were becoming more radicalized with admonitions that they must be in the vanguard advocating change.

Mason's career trajectory appeared unstoppable. In 1941 she was promoted to field administrator in the New York Department of Public Welfare in charge of disbursing $125 million in funds. Shortly after her appointment, Mason was honored with a sold-out testimonial dinner sponsored by the NCNW, the Committee of One Hundred Women, and AKA. Three hundred supporters packed the Harlem YWCA auditorium to celebrate a woman whose "steady rise from a humble kindergarten teacher" to field administrator highlighted, according to Bethune, what "perseverance, pluck, and ambition" can achieve.[26]

Bethune characterized Mason as "'a woman of great simplicity and grace,' and 'great mentality and culture.'" Bethune, whose own life's story was one of perseverance and courage, observed that Mason's achievement should inspire others "who stand in the need of courage" to prove that this kind of accomplishment was possible. As a member of the NCNW executive committee, Mason was closely involved in the new, more global advocacy direction the organization was taking. In June 1941 the NCNW sponsored an international luncheon during which Ollie Porter, president of the Harlem YWCA, observed that "in a world struggle for freedom, there must be united action by and equal opportunities

for all groups . . . [and] an international charter of human rights and social justice." During that affair, the NCNW voted to support the fight against discrimination in all forms, including the call for a "Negro March-on-Washington" by labor leader A. Phillip Randolph of the Brotherhood of the Sleeping Car Porters and Maids, and the appeal by Gertrude Baer of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom "to fight for international human rights and social justice."[27]

In October Bethune brought the NCNW back to the White House during its annual meeting where the First Lady addressed more than six hundred women. Mason was one of several speakers who declared that "the doctrine of defense cannot be embraced very heartily if one is not permitted to partake of the fruits of democracy and freedom." Afterward, Eleanor Roosevelt took the stage and confirmed her commitment to the NCNW's global plan, declaring that the nation "was founded on an ideal and not on any race or creed. . . . And while the ideal had not been perfect we are moving forward . . . [with black women] playing an important part in that particular progress." Roosevelt reminded attendees that her husband was also supportive, having recently created the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), which forbade discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin. Nevertheless, she acknowledged that more was needed.[28]

Later that month, on the heels of this highly successful NCNW meeting during which she was elected first vice president, and just a few weeks before the attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese, Mason appeared even more emboldened. She admonished the National Association of Business and Professional Women's Clubs during a luncheon that "the time is at hand for the Negro to take his place in the economic structure of the country, or it might be too late when the world crisis is over."[29]

Mason understood that her effectiveness relied on working through organizations such as the NCNW, the International Women's Democratic Federation, the Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation, the YWCA, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to fight segregation and racial and gender discrimination. Yet, even while addressing these daunting challenges on the national and international level, Mason did not forget her home community, where black citizens were still struggling with discrimination in education, housing, and employment.

Other cities in America had interracial councils that provided a modicum of success. Mason decided to use her family's political capital to some effect, appealing to influential white and black women to address the more egregious problems of underfunding and poverty among blacks. On one of her frequent trips to Norfolk, Mason called together this group of women in late 1942 to work together to eradicate the segregated and poor conditions in a city that would be ground zero in the fight against global oppression. The meeting took place at Blair Junior High School, a neutral location without segregated seating. Mason

saw the gathering as marking "the beginning of a greater understanding of acceptance of black and white people as citizens of the community." Held during the war years when Norfolk was emerging as the nation's largest naval base, this initial gathering blossomed into the Norfolk Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation (WCIC), which officially organized on April 27, 1945, at Ohef Shalom Temple in Norfolk.[30]

Eight black and eleven white women answered Mason's call to form a committee to address race relations and inequities. This was the first such organization chapter south of the Mason-Dixon line. Because of the participation by the city's most prominent women, the organization expanded to eighty-six women by year's end. With Mason as chair, the WCIC served as a conduit to address issues of segregation and discrimination in its more virulent forms as a way to demonstrate to the world the ideals for which America fought.[31] The organization immediately set to work to bring attention to issues of gross disparity in the city and to advocate for inclusion in Norfolk's police, fire, and other departments. Mason recalled the reaction of white members when conducting site visits during their study of the city's housing conditions for blacks.

> Some of the women cried because, as they said, "I didn't know that anyone lived like this in the city of Norfolk." They didn't know that there were people in Norfolk living in rooms that had dirt floors that were covered over with makeshift boards and newspapers. . . . They didn't know that one outdoor privy was utilized by eight or ten families. They didn't know that water for bathing and cooking . . . was pumped from out of the backyard and was utilized by several families . . . They became so upset that their reaction was, "What shall we do?" And "What can we do?"

Despite challenges and resistance by city officials to act, the WCIC submitted reports to the city advocating the redevelopment of black neighborhoods, worked to improve educational disparity, and challenged economic segregation.[32]

Within a year, Norfolk's WCIC had become respected, effective, and important, allowing Mason to resume her world travels promoting female activism and empowerment. As a delegate representing the NCNW at international conferences, Mason again extended her voice through a series of articles in the *Journal and Guide*, which now had a national circulation. The defeat of Nazism and the end of World War II brought an anticipation that the world would change for the better in the area of human rights. Yet the uneasy alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union was evident, and international organizations were formed to advocate for solutions. The initiative brought the full power of the NCNW in order to eliminate discrimination internationally, and Mason kept her hands on the pulse of these activities, heading the executive committee tasked with implementing these goals.[33]

"Destroy Fascism and ensure the democracy in all the countries" was the call received by the five hundred women from forty nations, including Spain, Belgium, Poland, China, Yugoslavia, and Italy, who met in Paris at the Place de Mu-

tualité during a cold and rainy week in November 1945 to tackle the problems among the nations destroyed by the war. The conference was called together by the Comité d'Initiative International (International Congress of Women), headed by Madame Eugénie Cotton, president of the Union des Femmes Françaises (UFF). As one of three black delegates from the NCNW, Mason represented the council as the executive board chair and as vice president. She wrote how impressed she was by the collection of prominent women from around the globe who gathered in Paris to discuss how they could be catalysts for sustained world peace. Using the language of early feminism, the International Congress of Women called on women as mothers, workers, and citizens to collectively advocate for a lasting peace for a war-weary world. The outcome of this meeting was the establishment of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), an ethnically and racially inclusive organization that represented a cross-section of workers, trade unionists, professionals, white-collar workers, and politicians.[34]

The NCNW's president, Mary McLeod Bethune, saw this meeting as holding "great significance for women, especially the women of minority races and of color throughout the world." In Mason's eyes this conference "was a remarkable triumph of planning, of organization, and of accomplishments." She served on the democracy and peace committee, speaking to the UFF about challenges faced especially by women in the United States and abroad. In her report Mason proclaimed that this initiative was so important to human rights that black women especially needed to be part of the vanguard. Aside from promoting international democracy and destroying fascism, the goals of the WIDF were to establish worldwide social services, decent housing, worker rights, and equal status for women.[35]

Mobilizing women to champion political and economic action by enhancing health and educational benefits for children and legal equality for women was the primary goal of the organization. It was Mason who provided the organization with a vivid account of the economic inequalities experienced by the majority of women. She argued that "equal pay for equal work is the first and essential right of women to obtain training." Mason saw Paris as the place where black soldiers were transformed by a society that gave them their first taste of equality, opportunity, and freedom of self-determination. So moved was Mason by her experiences that she was anxious to present her observations to a larger readership across the nation and to organizations that had both local branches and a national outreach. Mason was determined to dispel growing concerns about the threat of Russians by praising their delegates, noting that the Russians were devoted to tackling some of the most egregious world problems. Despite the international preoccupation with communism, she was quick to note that the challenges facing minorities were not lost on the conference delegates.[36]

Later that year, Mason toured Europe once again on behalf of the WIDF, hoping that this organization would publicize the plight of African Americans. By

late October delegates from the WIDF made a brief stop in Moscow, because it was apparent that a cold war was looming on the horizon, pitting the United States and the Soviet Union against one another. Opposed to this turn of events, the WIDF used their meeting to reemphasize the need for the organization's involvement in the United Nation's policy-making infrastructure. Mason observed that while she only spent a few days in Moscow, she was impressed by the determination of the people to rebuild following the war and of women to integrate themselves fully into Soviet society as policy makers. These experiences convinced her that blacks would "never be free to enjoy the same rights as other men until all [blacks] everywhere can with surety invoke those same rights wherever they may be."[37]

Mason was unmatched in her ability to multitask with a host of organizations bent on ending segregation and discrimination: the WCIC, the NAACP, the NCNW, and the WIDF. By the 1950s, however, it was clear to her that traditional avenues of protest were only partially effective. She saw the need to become more public with her political opinions. Angered by the recriminations that dominated the political landscape for thirty years with particular attacks on civil rights activists, Mason blasted the vitriolic propaganda of the Republicans and Democrats that characterized the presidential contest between Dwight D. Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson. In a July 1952 *New York Amsterdam News* article, Mason observed, "The greatest manhunt in history is about to take place when the American people will be browbeaten into electing one of two men 'it.' For the next three months Americans will be treated to, or stunned into, filling boredom by the smoothest flow of invectives, mouth-filling oratory or silly and dangerous promises, meaning almost nothing, that we have yet to suffer from." Mason's sarcasm was undeniable. She characterized both candidates' platforms as "about as intelligible to the average voter as the angelic prattling of infants."[38]

Perhaps Mason's terse outlook came from her awareness of the FBI's surveillance of her and the NCNW. In a 1956 report the FBI branded the NCNW as a "money collecting media" and as "special political organizing centers for the racial minority they pretend to champion." Apparently the California Committee on Un-American Activities cited the NCNW as "among the Communist front organizations for racial agitation." Throughout her tenure as an officer of the NCNW, Mason's passport was regularly checked and her activities monitored, especially because her travels to conferences often included Soviet bloc countries. Nevertheless, Mason understood how to play the political game by inviting communist witch hunters, such as Vice President Richard M. Nixon, to NCNW events.[39]

At a November 1952 National Association of Colored Women's interim conference, Mason urged the more than one hundred women attendees from twenty-one states to promote "sane, affirmative, constructive, courageous thinking" and to evaluate, plan, and present the needs of black women nationally. During the NCNW's 1953 session, when Vivian Carter Mason was elected its

third president (a position she would keep until 1957), the organization changed its constitution to elect four vice presidents and extended its reach to the Pacific Northwest as Region VIII. The NCNW also debated a bold proposal to adopt a new name that included all women, not just African Americans.[40]

Mason's first order of business as president was to tighten the NCNW's organization and operations. The group had grown significantly since its formation twenty years earlier. Mason felt that the constitution needed to be amended to include additional membership categories and clear guidelines regarding activities conducted by its branches. Because some "free-wheeling activities" brought unfavorable publicity to some of the NCNW's branches, Mason believed that immediate action was needed to salvage the reputation of the organization and to prohibit unsanctioned political activities and fund-raising. She believed that in order to root out all local segregation laws, policies, and practices, the NCNW must have a spotless reputation. The following year, Mason was rewarded for her efforts with a unanimous reelection by her peers.[41]

On the eve of her reelection, however, Mason was hard at work on the board of the national NAACP. Engaged in strategies to mount a successful attack against segregation, Mason used the power of the NCNW to great advantage. And when the Supreme Court issued its famous "with all deliberate speed" ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the NCNW was at the table with suggestions as to how the nation could implement desegregation in public schools.[42]

Like Mary McLeod Bethune, Mason was primarily interested in the plight of the masses. To make an impact, Mason understood she would have to develop strong connections in national black organizations and women's associations. Mason mirrored Bethune in other areas, balancing her career and education with the formation of alliances with individuals and groups that transcended race, class, and gender. This strategy sealed her image as the "voice of reason and conciliation" on matters regarding race. However, Mason also carved out her own path, combining her social work management skills with her interests in globalizing women's issues.[43] "The agents of world peace are not far away, they first are ourselves. . . . Women have a natural capacity for peace. . . . They bear the continuity of the life stream. . . . They have no need to support and prove their manliness by overt antagonisms. So the avenues of peace that have been opened up to us must be grasped avidly, with determination and dedication." Voicing the message "It's a Woman's World, Too" to conference attendees in May 1955, Mason established for the NCNW a clear vision to change the world through female empowerment. This agenda reflected her passion and her family's values of equity and morality as tools for fighting inequality and racism in the world.[44]

Throughout her tenure as president, Mason made the elimination of barriers to civil rights for blacks and women the NCNW's primary agenda, including affiliating with the International Council of Women of the World. Together, the

two organizations urged passage of the 1957 Civil Rights Act and international humanitarianism. In fact, Mason was an officer on the board of Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe (CARE), an international group that crusaded to provide food to needy areas in Africa, Europe, and Asia through food surpluses from the United States and other western nations. In 1955, at the official start of the civil rights movement, she was reelected vice president of CARE and continued to work toward its goal of achieving victory over poverty.[45]

At the same time Mason was embarking on her second term as NCNW president, Mary McLeod Bethune died of a heart attack in her Daytona Beach home in 1955. Mason now faced the difficult task of assuring the NCNW that she was capable of fulfilling the dreams of its founder in her absence. Yet Bethune herself paved the way shortly before her death, in an address during the NCNW's Brotherhood luncheon. Praising members of the council and especially the president, Vivian Carter Mason, Bethune said, "I am very grateful to you, my daughters, I have been the dreamer. But oh, how wonderfully you have interpreted my dreams."[46]

After 1957 Mason continued as the NCNW's honorary president. As such, she was asked to represent the group in the New Frontiers Tour, a ten-week visit to trouble spots in the Middle East. She agreed to participate at this critical juncture for tactical reasons. Traveling to the Middle East during a period when the area was disrupted by constant warfare provided her with the context to discuss how nations embroiled in war and conflict worked to resolve their problems. By emphasizing the role of women in these efforts, Mason was actually speaking to Norfolk officials grappling with pressures to desegregate the city. In a six-part series, published in the *Guide*, Mason recorded her observations as she traveled through Turkey, Egypt, Syria, and Israel, emphasizing the ongoing quest for democracy and world peace in formerly colonized regions of the world. Focusing on the advantages of interracial cooperation, Mason gave special attention to the value of the interracial connections in Israel, citing the growth of industries and even the irrelevances of race (she noted as an example the marriage of Prime Minister Golda Meir's daughter with a Yemenite). She also highlighted how negatively the United States appeared to the Syrians and other Arabs, citing the violence against school integration in Little Rock, Arkansas.[47]

Mason opted to conclude her tour of the Middle East at the Moral Rearmament Summit Conference in Caux, Switzerland, in June 1958. Mason regarded her participation in this summit as even more important than what the United Nations was doing. She saw this moral and spiritual group as providing an opportunity for real international dialogue and cooperation as the teams of delegates recommended resolution for territories seeking independence from European colonization.[48] Clearly, Mason was sending a message to the people of Norfolk, especially the white leadership who subscribed to and read the *Guide*. When visiting Egypt, which she called the "Land of Ancient Wisdom," Mason

observed that in order for the people to fully exploit its valuable resources, it needed public servants with "unselfish aims and ambitions [to reeducate its] people to develop pride in their heritage, the elimination of feudal concepts of employer and employee, and a democratic approach to living and life."[49]

On her return from the Middle East, Mason continued her work with the NAACP to challenge the resistance by the city council to integrate the schools. In Virginia the opposition to the *Brown* decision manifested itself in an all-out war known as massive resistance. In order to block the enrollment of black students in previously all-white schools, Virginia passed a series of laws that authorized the closure of any school ordered by the court to admit a child of another race. The Norfolk NAACP knew that these laws had to be challenged in the courts; in August 1958, 151 black parents allowed their children to apply for admission to white junior and senior high schools. After putting the families through a rigorous and insulting application process, the school board rejected all applicants. The NAACP responded by taking their case to the federal courts, where Judge Walter E. Hoffman ruled that the school board had to reconsider their earlier decision. After some backdoor maneuverings, seventeen students were selected from the original 151 to enter six white schools. Once this decision was made and the students attempted to enter the schools, Governor J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., ordered the schools closed. For five months Mason served as the administrator of an ad-hoc school for the seventeen students prevented from receiving an education, preparing students for the trials and tribulations that awaited them once the schools reopened.[50]

By the end of the year, the situation had deteriorated with the council removing funding for all its black schools as punishment for attempting to integrate white schools. In an article titled "Nation's Eyes Rest on Norfolk's Latest Move," Mason admonished city leaders for their bullying tactics, which she characterized as a "hatchet thrust" and "a brutal and naked effort to put the screws on seventeen children, to make them feel guilty for the closing of schools." She noted that this move undergirded how little white leaders understood blacks. Instead of forcing blacks to back off, the move, Mason warned, would embolden blacks to stand fast.[51]

Mason continued to write for the *Guide* throughout the desegregation crisis, presenting hatred, fear, and distrust in a universal context. Cognizant of Virginia's efforts to stymie integration through massive resistance, her articles sought to remove race from the discussion so that readers could have a more objective perspective about the negative impact hatred and unfairness has on a community. Her articles had innocuous titles, such as "Science for Bombs Only? It's Better to Aid Life," "World Neighborhood; Jets Carry People, Ideas," and "Cookbook Listed with Other Race Achievements." However, as the stalemate continued, her column became more direct, serving as a cheerleader for the

community, with titles such as "'Defiant Ones' Reveals Crux of Race Relations," "Integration Will Come Despite Veiled Threat," "Let's Show Gratitude to Friends of Freedom," "We Need More Voters, not Just Hand-Wringers," and "'The 17' Pioneers and the Dawn of a New Day." By February 1959 the stalemate was over and the public schools that had been closed the previous year reopened, admitting the seventeen black students. And while the experiences of each of the seventeen students were fraught with personal challenges, ironically, this effort failed to integrate the schools except in limited ways.[52] Yet attempts by Virginia to avoid actual integration continued. Governor Almond created the Perrow Commission, led by Mosby G. Perrow, Jr., and including four congressional representatives, which would recommend ways to avoid integration without directly challenging the law. Their recommendations, also known as "Freedom of Choice," allowed tuition grants, compulsory attendance laws, flexible pupil placement program, and local budgetary concerns to be used as a covert strategy to prevent integration. This strategy would end after another ten years of lawsuits filed in the federal courts by the NAACP.[53]

Navigating the interlocking politics of race, class, and gender, Mason never veered from her fight for equality nor failed to admonish those who stood in her way and that of other African American women whose abilities were often overlooked because of their gender. In 1958, when she and other leaders were considering qualified blacks to make a bid for a seat on the Norfolk city council, Mason sought support for her candidacy. Although one man told her that "they will never put a black woman in before a white woman has had a chance to serve," she and other "intrepid women" persevered despite the belief that her bid was "presumptuous" and "a handicap" because she was a woman.[54]

By the 1970s Mason's star still had not descended, and she remained one of the few stalwarts who maintained a public profile. In October 1971 school board chair Vincent Thomas reopened the desegregation controversy by declaring that the current plan was "not working." Thomas's seventeen-page report proposed to substitute the current plan with neighborhood schools for elementary students, while students at the secondary levels would be bused to assigned schools. Mayor Roy B. Martin, who earlier had indicated that Thomas's statement was unfortunate and badly timed, reversed his position, supporting instead the position that the desegregation plan was problematic. Mason disagreed, arguing that the process was working well.[55] Opponents of busing pointed to the racial conflict and breakdowns in discipline and disturbances, which lowered the reputation and morale of Norfolk's public schools, as reasons for their stance. Clearly, the city was beset with challenges in its schools, especially the high schools. While some of the conflicts were rooted in typical adolescent discord, a number of racial outbreaks resulted from the manner in which administrators dealt with problems. Councilman Joseph Jordan and Mayor Roy Martin, two men who

rarely saw "eye-to-eye on matters having the slightest tinge of racial overtone," agreed to appoint Mason to the Norfolk school board in 1971. Her selection was hoped to be "the beginning of a thaw in the cold war between the two city officials," according to a *Journal and Guide* editorial. While some saw Mason as militant because of her advocacy of more busing to achieve racial integration, the appointment was unanimously approved.[56]

In 1971 Mason was elected to the National Women's Political Caucus, a national group that formulates "qualifications for women candidates for public office." In that same year, she advocated that only gifted teachers should fill the ranks of educators in the school system. According to Mason, "molders of young minds are 'the most important people in the world.'"[57] Yet Mason was not immune to criticisms during this tumultuous period. When Mason expressed sympathy for political activist Angela Davis during her 1972 trial for complicity in a plot to free three San Quentin prisoners from a courthouse in Marin County, California, for example, she was roundly condemned by many whites as a communist. Brushing aside these charges, which received widespread publicity, Mason fired back in her usual straightforward style.[58] Mason understood how black women activists were held to a different standard than their white counterparts. She also knew how the scales of justice were unevenly tilted against blacks. This episode highlighted how the white community never really understood community feminists such as Mason.

At the age of seventy-seven, Mason decided that she had had enough of public scrutiny. She resigned her position on the Norfolk school board in 1978, claiming that she wanted to concentrate on forming a local Urban League chapter. Returning to her roots, Mason said, "I want an institution to promote first-class citizenship among minorities and other disadvantaged people." As the newly named chair of the Urban League chapter, Mason added that given the challenges of maintaining a family, the community needed to "provide educational opportunities for black women. . . . Black women have qualities which are needed in today's world . . . endurance, love for education and the ability to stand fast and hard."[59]

Mason passed away at the age of eighty-three on May 10, 1982, leaving a legacy of courage, commitment, and hard work. Mason had spent her entire life working to deconstruct the culture of prejudice and discrimination that destroyed the lives and opportunities of blacks. Her training as a social worker, combined with the support of her husband, whose livelihood was independent of whites, helped Mason become one of the most influential leaders for civil and human rights here and abroad. Two years before she died, her advice to youth symbolized her life: "You must try to be a rebel. Anyone who sees the inequities of our times and the slowness of change must not think it a terrible thing, but see it as his duty. Even authority should be rebelled against when it is wrong."[60]

NOTES

1. Remarks by Vivian Carter Mason in "Videotape documenting the first Scholarly Conference on Black Women, 1979," National Archives for Black Women's History, Audio Recording Transcription of National Council of Negro Women Records, S_015_SS_007_F_003, VHS videocassette, National Television System Committee (NTSC); Landon Storrs, "Left-Feminism, the Consumer Movement, and Red Scare Politics in the United States, 1935–60," *Journal of Women's History* 18 (Fall 2006): 40.

2. "A Tribute to Vivian Carter Mason: Delivered by Mrs. Bethune on May 12th in New York City at a dinner," NABWH, 001_S_004_B_001_F_019, National Park Service, Mary McLeod Bethune Council House, NHS/DeWaMMB (hereafter cited as NABWH).

3. *Afro-American*, January 5, 1952, 18; *Afro-American*, November 21, 1953, 2, and November 26, 1960, 12; *Cleveland Call and Post*, October 14, 1961, 8C (hereafter cited as *Call*).

4. *Virginian-Pilot*, August 28, 1974 (hereafter cited as *Pilot*).

5. *Pilot*, February 16, 1969, C5. Mason's headstone in Norfolk's Calvary Cemetery gives 1899 as her birthdate. Her siblings included George, Elmer, Oscar, Florence, Wheeler, Reginald, and Anita. Year: *1910*; Census Place: *Auburn Ward 9, Cayuga, New York*; Roll: *T624_928*; Page: *8B*; Enumeration District: *0025*; Image: *628*; FHL Number: *1374941*; Ancestry.com. *1910 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Provo, Utah, USA: Ancestry.com, 2006; *Pilot*, February 16, 1969, C5; Vivian Carter Mason, interview with Zelda Silverman, March 29, 1978, Interview I, Transcript, Collection MG-53, Special Collections, Old Dominion University (ODU) (hereafter cited as Mason interview I, 3/29/78).

6. *Pilot*, February 16, 1969, C5; Mason interview I, 3/29/78.

7. Mason interview I, 3/29/78; Sue Bailey Thurman, compiler and editor, *The Historical Cookbook of the American Negro* (Washington, D.C.: Corporate Press, 1958), 28, NABWH-001, Series 13, Box 1, Folder 2.

8. Mason interview I, 3/29/78; *Pilot*, February 16, 1969, C5.

9. *Call*, November 19, 1955, 1B; *Pilot*, February 16, 1969, C5; "Integrating the Life of the Mind: African Americans at the U. of Chicago, 1870–1940," 12, https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/webexhibits/IntegratingTheLifeOfTheMind/WhoWereFirstAfAmOldQuestion.html (accessed January 20, 2013).

10. Mason interview I, 3/29/78; V. A. Shadron, "Mason, Vivian Carter," in Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson, 1993), 755; *Journal and Guide*, August 1, 1925, 2, August 29, 1925, 2, and January 4, 1930, 2 (hereafter cited as *Guide*); Laura S. Abrams and Laura Curran, "Between Women: Gender and Social Work in Historical Perspective," *Social Service Review* 78 (September 2004): 430, 440; *Pittsburgh Courier*, November 12, 1955, B3.

11. Vivian Carter Mason, Interview I, March 29, 1978; William T. Mason, Jr., interview with Cassandra Newby-Alexander, video recording, Part 1, March 5, 2008, Archives, Virginia State Law Library (hereafter cited as Mason, Jr., interview, 3/5/08); *Guide*, July 25, 1925, 7.

12. W. T. Mason, Jr., interview with Cassandra Newby-Alexander, video recording, Part 2, July 18, 2011, Norfolk, Virginia (hereafter cited as Mason Jr. interview, 7/18/11).

13. *Guide*, November 28, 1925, 2, March 19, 1927, 4, March 26, 1927, 4, April 23, 1927, 1, and April 30, 1927, 4; *Afro American*, June 23, 1928, 5.

14. *New York Amsterdam News*, August 10, 1927, 8 (hereafter cited as *NY News*); Melissa Blair, "'A Dynamic Force in Our Community': Women's Clubs and Second-Wave Feminism at the Grassroots," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 30 (Fall 2009): 31; Ula Taylor, "'Negro Women Are Great Thinkers as Well as Doers': Amy Jacques-Garvey and Community Feminism, 1924–27," *Journal of Women's History* 12 (Summer 2000): 105; *Guide*, March 27, 1926, 7, December 11, 1926, 2, May 21, 1927, 7, June 18, 1927, 4, November 26, 1927, 4, and May 7, 1955, A28; *Afro-American*, April 21, 1928, 11, and April 28, 1928, 19; *Call*, November 19, 1955, 1B; Mason interview I, 3/29/78.

15. *Guide*, April 12, 1930, 6, and April 19, 1930, 6; Henry Lewis Suggs, *P. B. Young Newspaperman: Race, Politics, and Journalism in the New South, 1910–62* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1988), 46; Mason interview I, 3/29/78.

16. Mason interview I, 3/29/78; *NY News*, August 10, 1927, 8, and August 11, 1934; *Afro-American*, April 2, 1932, 8; *Guide*, December 8, 1945, C4; Mason, Jr., interview, 7/18/11.

17. *NY News*, December 30, 1931, 1, August 11, 1934, 4, and June 8, 1935, 9; *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 19, 1931, 1 (hereafter cited as *Courier)*; *Afro-American*, October 27, 1934, 5; John Hope Franklin and Alfred Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 8th ed. (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2000), 421.

18. *NY News*, August 6, 1938, 1; Mason interview I, 3/29/78; *Call*, November 19, 1955, 1B; *Guide*, January 7, 1939, 5; *Courier*, April 5, 1941, 8.

19. *NY News*, April 6, 1935, 12, April 18, 1936, 7, May 9, 1936, 6, March 31, 1934, 4, December 1, 1934, 7, and May 16, 1936, 18; *Afro-American*, November 17, 1934, 12; *Guide*, November 11, 1939, 9.

20. *NY News*, June 25, 1938, A3.

21. *NY News*, December 3, 1938, 15.

22. *NY News*, May 20, 1939, 9. Thirty years later, the One Hundred Women evolved as a more radical organization, using economic and political power to alter segregation practices throughout Hampton Roads. For example, when efforts were under way in 1961 to force W. G. Swartz department store to desegregate its dining hall, the One Hundred Women closed their accounts, causing Swartz, Smith and Welton, and Brownley and Rice's stores to integrate. *Guide*, February 25, 1961, C1–2; *Courier*, November 4, 1939, 10; *Afro-American*, November 4, 1939, 16, and November 11, 1939, 5; *NY News*, March 16, 1940, 12.

23. *NY News*, July 6, 1940, 11.

24. The correspondences between Mason and Bethune showed that the two shared a similar vision about the NCNW and the projects yet to be completed. Bethune was aware that her health was poor and revealed an urgency to discuss her future plans for the NCNW with Mason. See correspondence dated January 24, 1950, March 1, 1950, March 24, 1950, March 31, 1950, May 1, 1950, and May 22, 1950. NABWH_S_002_B_004_F_049, Correspondence, 1950; *Afro-American*, November 2, 1940, 17.

25. *Guide*, November 9, 1940, 4.

26. *Courier*, April 5, 1941, 8; *Guide*, May 17, 1941, 2.

27. *NY News*, May 17, 1941, and June 21, 1941, 10; Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 479–80.

28. *Courier*, October 18, 1941, 9; *Atlanta Daily World*, October 20, 1941, 6; Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 480; *Afro-American*, October 25, 1941, 16. Executive Order 8802 created the FEPC.

29. *Guide*, January 28, 1928, 4; *NY News*, November 1, 1941, 14; *Afro-American*, October 25, 1941, 16.

30. Vivian Carter Mason, Interview II by Zelda Silverman, October 19, 1978, Transcript, ODU Archives (hereafter Mason interview II, 10/19/78); *Atlanta Daily World*, April 5, 1945, 1.

31. Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation, Folder N: Organizational Meeting, April 27, 1945, Harrison B. Wilson Archives, Norfolk State University.

32. Mason interview II, 10/19/78.

33. *Courier*, November 10, 1945, 8.

34. *Guide*, December 22, 1945, A1–2, February 2, 1946, A15, and February 9, 1946, 9; *Atlanta Daily World*, February 6, 1946, 1.

35. *Atlanta Daily World*, February 6, 1946, 1; *Afro-American*, February 16, 1946, 14.

36. *Afro-American*, March 23, 1946, 12; *Guide*, February 2, 1946, A15.

37. *Courier*, October 12, 1946, 10; *Afro-American*, November 2, 1946, 13.

38. *NY News*, July 26, 1952, 14.

39. Memo, SAC, Norfolk, to Director, FBI, 5/22,28/57, Vivian Carter Mason, Bureau File NF 100–5181, 2, 5/5, 6/56, Vivian Mason, Bureau file NF 100–5181, 1; *Guide*, November 26, 1955, B6.

40. *Afro-American*, November 29, 1952, 10; *Guide*, November 21, 1953, B1.

41. *Afro-American*, November 21, 1953, 2; *Call*, November 28, 1953, 6C and November 19, 1955, 1B; *Afro-American*, October 1, 1955, 6.

42. *Guide*, July 10, 1954, C12.

43. Audrey Thomas McCluskey and Elaine M. Smith, eds., *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a Better World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 3, 7.

44. NABWH_ S_007_B_015_ F_001: Speeches, 1951–1959, Broadcast Material, Region II: Conference—Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, May 14, 1955, 4.

45. *Guide*, November 16, 1957, A8; *Philadelphia Tribune*, July 30, 1957, 6; *Afro-American*, December 10, 1955, 10, and February 25, 1956, 17.

46. McCluskey and Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune*, 281.

47. *Guide*, July 19, 1958, B1–2, August 16, 1958, 1–2, and August 23, 1958, 1–2.

48. *Afro-American*, September 6, 1958, 11.

49. *Guide*, August 2, 1958, 2.

50. *Pilot*, June 22, 1958; Benjamin Muse, *Virginia's Massive Resistance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), 7; Robert C. Smith, "Desegregation's Tortuous Course: Breakthrough in Norfolk," *Commentary* 27 (March 1959): 188; Luther J. Carter, "Desegregation in Norfolk," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 58 (Autumn 1959): 513–14; Earl Lewis, *In Their Own Interests: Race, Class, and Power in Twentieth-Century Norfolk, Virginia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 203–4.

51. *Guide*, December 6, 1958, 8.

52. *Guide*, January 3, 1959, B10, December 13, 1958, 8, December 20, 1958, 8, December 27, 1958, 8, January 10, 1959, 8, January 17, 1959, 8, January 31, 1959, 8, and February 7, 1959, 8; *Afro-American*, February 14, 1959, 7.

53. Jeffrey Littlejohn and Charles Ford, *Elusive Equality: Desegregation and Resegregation in Norfolk's Public Schools* (Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2012), 106–107.

54. Mason interview II, 10/19/78.

55. *Pilot*, February 16, 1969, C5; *Guide*, October 16, 1971, C1-C2; *Norfolk Compass, Ledger-Star and Virginian-Pilot*, December 22, 1985, 1, 12, and January 5, 1986, 1, 7–8.

56. *Guide*, July 10, 1971, 6.

57. *Ibid.*; *Pilot*, September 24, 1971, B2, October 4, 1971, and October 26, 1971.

58. *Pilot*, February 16, 1969, C5, and September 24, 1971, B2.

59. *Norfolk Ledger-Star*, April 7, 1978.

60. *Pilot*, May 25, 1980, and May 12, 1982, C1. Although the newspapers reported that Vivian Carter Mason was eighty-two when she died, she was actually eighty-three.

Sarah Patton Boyle

A White Activist, the Black Pragmatist Who Taught Her, and the Long and the Short of the Civil Rights Movement

JENNIFER RITTERHOUSE

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Sitting in the midst of some two thousand people in Richmond's Mosque auditorium on the morning of November 15, 1954, a petite, middle-aged, white woman named Sarah Patton Boyle had to listen to sixty-eight segregationists speak before she could stand up to deliver her message of human brotherhood. Virginia's newly appointed Commission on Public Education—a panel of thirty-two white, male segregationists headed by state senator Garland Gray—had called a public hearing to solicit Virginians' views on the Supreme Court's recent *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. The hearing proved to be little more than a pep rally for state leaders' developing policy of massive resistance—a "field day for extremists," in the words of the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*.[1] The first five speakers, three of whom were state legislators, set the tone, predicting "chaos and confusion" and even armed rebellion if the state tried to comply with the ruling. The hearing had hardly begun before someone suggested that Virginia should close its public schools rather than desegregate. Although a dozen blacks and half a dozen whites spoke out in favor of immediate integration, their voices were faint against the din of dire predictions and self-fulfilling prophecies. Meanwhile, among Virginia's white politicians there emerged only a few moderates who sought to keep schools open through minimum compliance or some other means.

At first, the segregationists' vitriol and the moderates' weakness filled Boyle with anger and disgust. Through prayer, she managed to overcome these feelings as well as her deep-seated dread of public speaking by the time her name was called. She approached the microphones with confidence and asserted that "many Southerners like myself actually would prefer integrated schools." "There is nothing in our hearts to make this change difficult," she insisted, "if only we

get a little help from our leaders. The silent majority of our people are able, and under proper leadership would be willing, to meet democratic and Christian ideals." She concluded by urging Virginia politicians to give white citizens "a *chance* to demonstrate the ideals which we all profess!" Leaving the podium, Boyle found herself suddenly face to face with an angry white woman who blocked the aisle. "You!" the woman growled. "Why—tell me *why* you're trying to mongrelize our race!" Around them, the segregationist pep rally continued, and of course Virginia *would* close schools, including those in Boyle's hometown of Charlottesville, before massive resistance was defeated. Yet Boyle was undaunted. *Love your enemies*, she thought.[2]

As her appearance before the Gray Commission indicates, Sarah Patton Boyle was a woman of unusual moral courage. Indeed, she was one of few truly determined white southern activists whom Martin Luther King Jr. could point to in his famous "Letter from Birmingham Jail" in 1963, and her best-selling autobiography *The Desegregated Heart: A Virginian's Stand in Time of Transition*, published in 1962, helped document a Virginia civil rights movement that is still remarkably understudied.[3] More than half a century later, massive resistance to school desegregation is the only aspect of Virginia's civil rights history that scholars have examined in depth.[4] Yet schools were only part of the story of Virginia's black freedom struggle, just as they were only part of the story for Boyle. An examination of the factors that pushed her to the microphones by November 1954 reveals not just one but two remarkable individuals, plus a longer history of black activism that has been too little explored in Virginia even as studies of the black organizing tradition and the Long Civil Rights Movement have flourished in other places.[5]

In Virginia as elsewhere, gender mattered, both in Boyle's feminine (but not feminist) approach to advocacy and in the gendered and sexualized attacks of her opponents. Religious faith was paramount, as Boyle's reliance on prayer and scripture during the Commission on Public Education hearing suggests. Education was also key, especially in the less formal sense of "social learning." Although Boyle's story is one of middle-class sensibilities and "extreme liberalism" rather than a left-leaning "radical democratic vision," her learning process highlights the education for activism on which all social movements depend.[6] Her most significant and lasting contribution, in turn, was to try to extend her own reeducation to other white southerners through her autobiography and other writings. As the *New Yorker* observed of *The Desegregated Heart* when it appeared, the "familiarity of Mrs. Boyle's setting (Charlottesville, rather than, say, occupied Warsaw) and the familiarity of her solution (Christianity, instead of, say, Existentialism or Marxism) make her story hurt more and, conceivably, teach more, too."[7]

Sarah Lindsay Patton, who was always known as "Patty," was born on a farm outside Charlottesville in 1906. Although her parents were not wealthy, she was

SARAH PATTON BOYLE

Courtesy of the *Charlottesville Daily Progress*.

T. J. SELLERS

Collection of the author.

taught to think of herself as part of the "Southern aristocracy," the descendant of Confederate and Revolutionary War officers and even a governor (actually an "acting governor," she confessed, and only for some number of months). Her family's "emphasis on background inevitably bred in me a loathsome sense of social superiority," Boyle reflected in her autobiography. "But it also gave me a feeling of roots reaching far back—and far forward—into history," and it gave her a sense of noblesse oblige. She learned that privilege carried responsibility: "You owed a great debt to everybody else," she was taught.[8]

Patty Patton's clearest lessons in social responsibility came from her father, Robert Williams Patton, an Episcopal minister. Indeed, his quarter century of work for black education made it somewhat tricky for Boyle in later years to explain why she had failed to question segregation sooner than she did. After serving parishes in Virginia and Pennsylvania, Robert Patton joined the American Church Institute for Negroes in 1914 and served as its director from 1920 until his retirement in 1940. Founded in 1906, the institute operated seven normal and industrial schools for blacks across the South, as well as Saint Augustine's College in Raleigh, North Carolina, and the Bishop Payne Divinity School in Petersburg. What Robert Patton called an "inspiring record in Negro education" would, in fact, provide inspiration to his daughter, but not until she reached middle age. As a girl, Patty Patton resented her father's absences far more than she appreciated, much less shared, his commitment to black advancement. In *The Desegregated Heart* she explained that Patton's work "kept him away from home nine-tenths of the time," while in a much later oral history interview she added that her father "was crazy about my mother. He was wild about her and he didn't want anything but to see her when he came. . . . He was not very popular with me, to tell you the truth, but I did admire him. I recognized he was a man of absolute integrity."[9]

For the first half of Boyle's life, a different sort of "integrity" shaped her racial attitudes much more than her father's moral principles did: the integrity of the Jim Crow system. To what extent the industrial education model and white paternalism actually challenged, rather than merely ameliorated, the South's racial injustices is certainly subject to debate. But whether Robert Patton himself was more interested in "managing white supremacy" or in laying groundwork to overturn it is a moot question in relation to his daughter: Patty Patton learned her role in the daily dramas of Jim Crow from the world around her and from her mother far more than from him.[10] On the subject of racial (and class) hierarchy, Jane Stringfellow Patton was much more conventional than her husband. While he was "very enlightened for his time," in Boyle's estimation, she "loved Negroes . . . without the slightest feeling that they were much like herself." Particularly once she reached adolescence, Patty learned to follow her mother's example of amiable condescension toward blacks. "It was proper—indeed, it was *Southern*," she explained, "to be friendly and chatty with all Negroes, provided

you watched the emotional balance and instantly withdrew into a more formal attitude if a note of equality crept in." Eating and drinking with blacks was also acceptable under certain conditions, but "under no circumstances did you address a Negro" as "Mr." To do so, according to her mother, would "embarrass him to death."[11]

By the time Patty reached adulthood, her mother's lessons and the corroboration they seemed to receive from the family's black servants had made her "as close to a typical Southern lady as anyone ever is to a typical anything. My mind had many partitions and my heart many levels," she reflected. "I was a mixture of high idealism and contradictory practice, of rigid snobbery and genuine human warmth."[12] Educated at home, Patty received no support for a learning disability that she later identified as dyslexia. She never read easily or widely and preferred to draw and paint. In 1926 she enrolled at the Corcoran School of Art in Washington, D.C., where she developed her skills in portraiture. In 1932 she married E. Roger Boyle II, a drama instructor at the University of Virginia. Struggling to make ends meet in the depths of the Great Depression, Boyle painted and sold portraits and began writing articles on homemaking and other topics for popular women's magazines. She would eventually give up painting to focus on freelance writing and motherhood after her two sons, E. Roger Boyle III and Patton Lindsay Boyle, were born in 1939 and 1943.[13]

Although she remained a member of the Episcopal Church, Sarah Patton Boyle "turned away from the church" as an adolescent and young adult "just because it was such a bore." She explored spiritualism and Buddhism and found that "they made a lot more sense to me than Christianity as I had learned it in the church pew." She would maintain a lifelong interest in world religions, explaining in a 1994 interview that "there are things that still ring bells for me in all those religions" and that she still embraced a "general spirituality."[14] Episcopalianism took on a new significance for Boyle in the late 1940s, however, as she turned back to the church to find support through marital conflicts that would finally lead her and Roger to divorce in 1965. Now in her early forties, Boyle was also feeling restless. "I've never been confronted with one full-size job that I thought was worth doing with my full strength," she confided in 1948 to a close friend who was studying for the ministry. "I'm not being used, my energy is not fully consumed. I feel the constant pressure of repressed power." "Doesn't this all add up?" she concluded, half jokingly. "I'm a potential fanatic who has not yet found my cause."[15]

Boyle's need for a "cause" helps explain her reaction, in July 1950, to the news that a young black man named Gregory Swanson was expected to win his suit for admission to the University of Virginia's law school. Swanson was a practicing lawyer already, having graduated from Howard University and been admitted to the Virginia Bar. A native of Danville, he wanted to pursue further study at the Commonwealth's only state-supported law school. Despite Supreme

Court decisions in June 1950 in *Sweatt v. Painter* and *McLaurin v. Oklahoma Board of Regents* that declared segregation in higher education unconstitutional, the UVA Board of Visitors rejected Swanson's application on the basis of race, compelling him to file suit. He was represented by the Legal Defense Fund of the Virginia branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and a three-judge panel required just thirty minutes to rule in his favor on September 5.[16]

In July 1950, when Patty Boyle first heard about Swanson's case, she felt suddenly exhilarated. "Shocked to the point of physical tingling," she would later write, "I felt rather as I did when the first moon rocket zoomed up. . . . A human-relations space age was beginning in the South." In fact, the "human-relations space age" would get off to a very slow start even for her, much less for the state of Virginia. Feeling a "rising inner pressure" to contradict newspaper coverage that insisted Swanson was not welcome in Charlottesville, Boyle succeeded in reaching out to the young lawyer through a personal letter that began "Dear Mr. Swanson: I feel impelled to speak for the many Southerners who are silently on your side. . . . I speak as a Virginian for the many Virginians who will be happier if you are admitted to the University, and will be humiliated if you are not." It was the first time she had ever addressed a black man as "Mr."[17]

In subsequent correspondence, however, Boyle made Swanson wary by advocating gradualism and offering condescending, "maternal" advice such as "the surest step toward getting what we want is to be grateful—*visibly* grateful—for what we get" and "Watch that high vocabulary. It will make some people wonder whether you're being snooty or defensive." By the time he reached Charlottesville in mid-September, Swanson had serious doubts about Boyle's attitudes and intentions, and his doubts were confirmed when he met with her to read over an article that she had drafted and hoped to publish in *Reader's Digest*. Titled "We Want a Negro at the UVA," the piece "dripped sentimental maternalism," as Boyle later acknowledged, and made Swanson visibly angry but also speechless.[18] To understand why he had quietly asked her not to publish it and then quickly left, Boyle turned first to white friends and then to another African American she had recently met, T. J. Sellers.

Thomas Jerome Sellers was the editor of the *Charlottesville Tribune* (later the *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune*), a black newspaper that F. E. Alexander, the publisher of the decade-old *Roanoke Tribune*, had recently encouraged him to start. Sellers had significant experience as a journalist. Born in Charlottesville in 1911, he had been one of the first graduates, in 1930, of the city's first black secondary school, Jefferson High. After graduation, he worked at odd jobs, played drums for a popular local band called the Happy Pals, sold life insurance, and then founded and edited Charlottesville's first black newspaper, a weekly called *The Reflector*, which survived from 1933 to 1935. He also married; his wife Eleanora Brown Sellers taught at Jefferson and was active in the Ebe-

nezer Baptist Church and various social clubs whose activities *The Reflector* covered in its "Society Notes." In the late 1930s Sellers entered Virginia Union University, where he studied history and worked part-time for the *Richmond Planet*. He graduated in 1939 and joined the staff of the *Norfolk Journal and Guide* in 1940 before returning to Charlottesville a year later for a better-paying job as a salesman and later district manager for the Richmond Beneficial Life Insurance Company.[19] He had only recently returned to newspaper editing part-time when Patty Boyle asked him if, as an editor, he could explain why Gregory Swanson had rejected her draft article, "We Want a Negro at the UVA."

"Point by point," Boyle wrote of Sellers's letter critiquing the manuscript, "he laid my Southernisms bare." He criticized the piece for being tactless and prideful, for trying to "whitewash the University," and for depicting Swanson and his family as "quiet, easy-going colored people" whom whites could accept as tokens without admitting that segregation itself was wrong. His final words were his most scathing: "There is a New Negro in our midst who is insisting that America wake up and recognize that he is a man like other men. He is entirely out of sympathy with the gross paternalism of the 'Master class' turned liberal." To her credit, Boyle did not let her initial indignation at being addressed in such a manner stop her from weighing Sellers's words. Reaching the conclusion that she was "thoroughly misunderstood by Negroes" but also that "they were thoroughly misunderstood by me," she wrote Sellers a week later thanking him for his honesty, offering no defenses for her unenlightened views, and promising to retreat from the segregation issue. To his credit, T. J. Sellers refused to let her. He wrote back immediately with a "gracious though indirect apology . . . and a frank appeal not to pull out from this struggle for a more democratic South." Although neither of them knew it yet, this was the start of an important and lasting friendship. The frequent and often bracing conversations they would come to call "The T. J. Sellers Course for Backward Southern Whites" would begin several months later, in the spring of 1951.[20]

As a longtime civil rights advocate, T. J. Sellers was well positioned to become Patty Boyle's mentor. His editorials for *The Reflector* demonstrate that his fight for racial equality began early. Writing in 1933 on the subject of whites-only primary elections (which would not be declared unconstitutional until *Smith v. Allwright* in 1944), the twenty-two-year-old Sellers asserted that "Virginia Negroes are citizens of the State and, as such, enjoy the right to share the duties and responsibilities of American citizens." Sellers also called for local action. Just three weeks after starting *The Reflector*, he insisted that blacks in Charlottesville had "talked long enough" and should immediately band together in a civic league that "would do much to inculcate unity and power at the polls and in everyday life."[21]

Even as young adults, T. J. and Eleanora Sellers were very active in black Charlottesville. Over time, they became "pillars of the community," as one his-

torian observes, although it was education and sensibility rather than wealth that made them "two of the most visible and respected members of Charlottesville's black elite." Eleanora had helped found "some of the first black women's organizations in the city" and was a highly regarded teacher. She was also assertive, much like her husband. When a controversy erupted at Jefferson High in the spring of 1945, Eleanora not only stood up for herself and other teachers against a dictatorial and ineffective principal, but she may also have encouraged students who were contemplating a strike. In an interview with white board of education investigators, she made it clear that allowing the principal's behavior, which allegedly included sexual harassment, to go unchecked would not be "best for the system." Her husband supported her by joining several other prominent black leaders, including a minister and the head of the Jefferson parent-teacher association, in sending a letter of protest about the principal, who was also black, to the white school superintendent and school board. Although white officials ultimately scolded both the principal and the teachers while taking no action, the Sellerses' role in the controversy suggests their involvement in their community and their refusal to be intimidated by unjust authorities, black or white. Nevertheless, Eleanora Sellers did leave Jefferson High after just one more school year, presumably because of continuing frustrations with the school's governance.[22]

By the time he launched the *Charlottesville Tribune* in 1950, T. J. Sellers had become all the more outspoken as an advocate for racial justice. His was, in the words of one historian, "the most strident voice we find in Charlottesville in the early 1950s." Although Sellers was a founding member of a local interracial commission, he did not preach conciliation and gradualism like other participants. Instead, employing the editorial "we," he asserted that "we have always been opposed to every form of segregation—not because we saw any special blessing in mingling with our white fellow Americans and not because we favored intermarriage either. But because segregation has meant discrimination, oppression, and double standards of justice."[23] Still, Sellers was his own man and did not necessarily agree with others' approaches to fighting inequality. Like other proponents of "pragmatic civil rights," Sellers was sometimes skeptical of NAACP strategies. In late 1950 he wished "that the Virginia State Conference of the NAACP had not found it necessary to press the fight for the elimination of our dual public educational system right at this time." He found it hard to "believe that the average Negro student coming from the average substandard school in the average Virginia city or county could adjust himself to his own best advantage at this time." He was also worried about integration's possible impact on black teachers and Charlottesville's new black secondary school, Burley High, which was scheduled to open in the fall of 1951.[24] Sellers's concern that blacks "adjust" themselves to their "own best advantage" reflects a commitment to respectability that the educated black elite had long demonstrated and that

floated in unresolved tension alongside his democratic principles. He felt that blacks ought to work to *deserve* the rights of citizenship—as should whites. At the same time, he was most certain of the fact that equal citizenship was long overdue.

As it happened, the Sellerses would not stay in Virginia to see firsthand how the fight to eliminate school segregation played out. They left Charlottesville in 1953 and moved to New York City, where T. J. became managing editor of the *Amsterdam News*. A desire for better educational opportunities for their daughter Thomassine was a factor in their move. Thomassine "Tommie" Sellers eventually earned degrees from New York University, Michigan State, and Stanford and became a professor of elementary education at San Francisco State University, where she taught for many years. Meanwhile, T. J. Sellers left the *Amsterdam News* in 1956 and went to work for the city's public schools, first as a teacher and later as director of information services and public relations.[25]

The Sellerses' departure from Charlottesville in 1953 coincided with the return of three military veterans, Eugene Williams, Ray Bell, and Charles Fowler, who would oversee the reorganization and expansion of the local branch of the NAACP as Virginia's battles over school desegregation heated up. The Charlottesville branch had been formed in 1945, with the Sellerses and other black professionals taking the lead. It had declined between 1945 and 1952, however, perhaps because it lacked any program beyond the study of segregation and "may not have satisfied Charlottesville blacks who had outgrown the talk and courtesy title era."[26] T. J. Sellers was clearly one of the most impatient, as his forceful editorials for the *Tribune* from 1950 to 1953 indicate. Nevertheless, it seems obvious that his years of work with white moderates in the interracial commission and other groups contributed to his ability to patiently educate a well-meaning but naïve white liberal such as Patty Boyle. Meanwhile, if the Charlottesville NAACP had been more active at the moment Boyle went looking for a cause, she might not have had the opportunity to learn privately, in the comparative comfort of Sellers's *Tribune* office, before trying to get involved in Charlottesville's sometimes-contentious black activist circles. Boyle needed the time and space Sellers afforded her, and she was lucky both in her moment and in the man to whom she appealed for enlightenment after she offended Gregory Swanson.

The Desegregated Heart "could have been accurately titled 'the re-education of Mrs. Boyle,'" observed a reviewer for the NAACP's *Crisis* magazine in January 1963. Boyle devoted a number of pages to describing her conversations with T. J. Sellers in the early 1950s, and she dedicated the book to Sellers, "who taught me," as well as two white ministers who provided spiritual guidance. Sellers taught Boyle facts but, more important, she "learned new attitudes by becoming conscious of the faulty content of old ones." Through conversation, he broke down not only the particulars of her racial stereotypes but also her whole "habit of dropping the myriad of individual Negroes into a single mold, regarding them

as a solid, undifferentiated racial lump." Sellers made Boyle realize that blacks were (simply, and yet profoundly) *Americans* and often southerners—that he himself was a "Virginia gentleman," as he demonstrated during one early meeting by ironically injecting "a breath of courtliness into the tone of his urbane voice." Sellers's skill in dramatizing lessons proved essential, helping Boyle feel that she had "lived through—not merely listened to—his review of the many frustrations, humiliations, heartaches, and challenges which result from being a superior member of an underprivileged, segregated minority" (a description that hints at Sellers's distinct, black middle-class perspective, which Boyle would sometimes criticize as elitist). Under Sellers's tutelage, Boyle learned to identify with "a colored parent confronted with the task of explaining" segregation to her child or "a young wife faced with the fact that her husband would be crippled for life when that car struck him down because the colored ward at the hospital was too full."[27]

As these examples suggest, Sellers appealed to Boyle's sympathies as a mother and wife even though he expressed his own desire for racial equality in the masculine terms of a "New Negro" who was "a man like other men." Although he clearly saw a role for Patty Boyle in the civil rights struggle, neither he nor Boyle seems to have questioned prevailing gender norms, and, in one area at least, Sellers deliberately overlooked a gender issue: Boyle's tendency to send mixed signals that could be misunderstood as sexual come-ons. "I wish there was some way we could know each other personally," she had written to Swanson. "I want us to very much. But I don't quite see how it can be done. It would be humiliating to us both to be clandestine about it, and would be unwise to be open about it. For us there can be no middle road between those two, for there's no privacy where I live." Boyle claimed in her autobiography that it took her more than a decade to grasp the sexual suggestiveness of her letter and its probable effect on Swanson. Her explanation was that, unlike many white southern girls who were taught to fear black men and become "super-sex-conscious," she had been taught to regard black men asexually "rather as one does male dumb animals"—a common, but "lesser-known school" of southern sex education, by her account. "I have yet to find a Negro who knows even of the existence of the sex-suppression school," she added. "Resultant misunderstandings are virulent."[28] Whether or not T. J. Sellers believed that Patty Boyle was really so unaware, he was certainly reserved on the subject. In all of their conversations, Boyle and Sellers seem never to have discussed the sexual tensions that she might experience—and *create*—as a naïve yet (by her own admission) flirtatious white woman participating in a predominately black social movement.

Sellers did help Boyle work on what she called her "unconscious habits" in addition to her "ingrained attitudes." He got her to stop pronouncing the word "Negro" as "Nigra" by "chucklingly repeating it after me the way I said it." He also helped her become comfortable calling black people "Mr.," "Mrs.," and

"Miss"—a change that Boyle found so challenging for some well-intentioned whites that she recommended they practice using pictures of black people clipped from magazines "until at last the inner partition breaks down."[29]

Helping whites break down their "inner partitions" was always Sarah Patton Boyle's primary goal. Even though she believed a "semantic barrier" and other obstacles to spiritual "oneness" existed in the minds of *both* blacks and whites, she recognized that appealing to whites' better selves was the more urgent task as well as the one that she could undertake most effectively from her position as a "typical Southern lady." She remained convinced, like generations of white southern liberals before her, that there was a silent South—a "silent majority," as she put it in her Gray Commission speech—of whites who were racist only by habit and convention rather than conviction. If only they could overcome their feelings that "everybody else is prejudiced," then they would act on the moral and democratic principles they actually believed in and work to eliminate segregation.[30] To this end, Boyle sent dozens of letters to Virginia's white newspapers in the early 1950s under her own name and the names of sympathetic white friends who agreed to let her ghostwrite for them. She also wrote several articles for religious periodicals such as the *Christian Century*, as well as two regular features for Sellers's newspaper. "Facts and Figures of Good Will" highlighted polls and other evidence that suggested the racial situation was improving. "From Behind the Curtain" was a question-and-answer column that invited the *Tribune*'s black readers to submit questions about whites' racial attitudes, which Boyle answered from the point of view of "A White Southerner." "Segregation is America's iron curtain," the header for the second feature announced. "Its greatest evil has been that it prevents us from understanding each other and from being conscious of each other's growth."[31] Whether or not the Cold War analogy was apt, Boyle's optimistic outlook was soon to be tested as Virginia's battle over school desegregation got under way.

First, Boyle was shocked to learn that the Supreme Court was issuing no deadline for implementation along with its momentous *Brown* decision. Then, in November 1954, she encountered angry opposition for the first time in the form of the woman who accosted her after her speech at the Commission on Public Education hearing. The hearing itself was also discouraging, given how few speakers supported integration or even moderation and how many spoke vehemently in favor of continued segregation and defiance of the federal government. Boyle felt it was time to make her first attempt since she abandoned "We Want a Negro at the UVA" to reach a broad audience with her optimistic message about the South's silent majority. "I do not claim that the whole story of Southern racial prejudice is a myth," she wrote in a draft magazine article, "but I do stoutly maintain that it is vastly exaggerated. . . . A few emotional individuals bellow threats and hatred, a few sensation lovers join them in the din, and the large majority, composed of good-willed but easy-going and peace-loving citi-

zens, cower back, mistakenly assuming that there is nothing they can do about it because their 'number is so small.'"[32] If her article could reach a large readership, she hoped, white moderates might be encouraged to overcome their timidity and stand up for moral and democratic principles.

When the *Saturday Evening Post*, which had a circulation of 17 million, accepted the article just two weeks after the Gray Commission hearing, Boyle was elated. She cheerfully corresponded with *Post* editors, telling them all about her distinguished family background and kinship to General George S. Patton, who was a second cousin. She saw no sign of trouble until she received galleys of her article. Her title, "We're Readier Than We Think," had been changed to "The South Is Ready for Integration," which she considered simply untrue. Though she wrote and called, Boyle was unable to persuade the *Post*'s editors to restore her original title. Finally, she compromised on "Southerners Will Like Integration," a title she disagreed with but viewed as accurate in the sense that true integration would, she believed, result in a happier South.[33]

Prior to publication, however, the *Post* changed Boyle's title again by underlining the word "Like." "Southerners Will *Like* Integration," the February 19, 1955, issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* proclaimed. The lead-in printed above this title further sensationalized the story by claiming that Boyle "used to fear that mingling races in the schools" was a problem but would now "reveal" how she had "lost her prejudice." As if this suggestive reference to the taboo topic of race mixing were not enough, the *Post* printed a large photograph of Boyle walking companionably with two black male medical students on the article's first page. As naïve as she claimed to be, Boyle "could guess how amalgamation-minded segregationists would interpret" the photograph—and, indeed, a segregationist group in Louisiana did soon reprint the picture on a handbill titled "Segregation or Degeneration? The Choice Is Yours." Whether or not they had raised the red flag of miscegenation intentionally, the *Post* editors had clearly treated Boyle's article as "a spectacular," which they exploited further with newsstand banners that read "Southerners Will Like Integration, Claims Virginia Housewife." Within twenty-four hours of the article's release, Boyle got her first middle-of-the-night phone call from a White Citizens Council member from Georgia.[34] The worst was yet to come.

Over the next few months, Boyle received dozens of angry letters, many of which called her a "slut," "bitch," or "over-sexed whore" as well as a "nigger lover." "Perhaps your husband is impotent and cannot satisfy your desire and you have heard the reputation of negroes as boudoir bandits," one assailant wrote. Southern white newspapers were less vulgar but still damning, often accusing her of exploiting the race issue for material gain. Nell Battle Lewis of the Raleigh, North Carolina, *News and Observer*, who had once been something of a white southern liberal herself, charged Boyle with being a Judas who had sold out the South for "considerably more than thirty pieces of silver." Lewis's article

was the only attack Boyle bothered to answer, a reflection of the fact that Lewis was a Virginian, part of the "top social cream," and, though Boyle did not emphasize the point, a woman. Her criticisms helped Boyle interpret "the abbreviated nods and smiles" of her educated, middle-class white peers in Charlottesville and beyond. It was their opposition, even when expressed through silence, that she found hardest to take.[35]

Boyle's experience of social ostracism affected her profoundly. Even though her *Post* article earned her many letters of support as well as national recognition as one of the "fearless champions of brotherhood alongside Lillian Smith and Billy Graham" (in the words of a *Philadelphia Tribune* columnist), the icy stares of store clerks and avoidance by former friends left her feeling deeply disappointed in her fellow white southerners.[36] Her disillusionment only grew as she watched Virginia lurch toward massive resistance and school closings. Although the Gray Commission had endorsed a local option plan that would have allowed for minimal desegregation, Senator Harry F. Byrd, Sr., wielded greater influence by defying the *Brown* decision outright as an overreach of federal power. In February 1956 Byrd called for massive resistance, a term he coined and a policy that would eventually close schools in Charlottesville and several other districts.

Patty Boyle's part in this school desegregation drama was both that of a mother of teenage sons and that of a local activist. In 1954 she had become the founding president of the Council for Social Action, a Charlottesville interracial group. In 1955 she joined the new Virginia Council on Human Relations (VCHR) and became its primary fieldworker, lecturing and organizing discussion groups in cities and towns across the state in a "nonstop series of one-night stands" that lasted for the next three years. Back home in Charlottesville during the summer of 1956, Boyle organized a local chapter of the VCHR but also looked on in dismay as more than 22,000 residents signed a segregationist petition even as the state legislature voted to give Governor Thomas B. Stanley the authority to close any school that desegregated and to use state money to fund private schools. Passage of the "Stanley Plan" heightened tensions throughout Virginia. In late August the Seaboard White Citizens Council burned a cross outside Charlottesville's Westminster Presbyterian Church, where the local VCHR was meeting. Two days later, Boyle became the next target. On the night of August 29, 1956, she found a six-foot cross ablaze in her yard. Refusing to be intimidated, Boyle called her thirteen-year-old son Patton to come and see, and together the two of them went outside to take pictures of this "blaze of loveliness formed in the symbol of eternal love."[37]

"Even after my cross was burned," Boyle later wrote, "by refusing to look at the Southern turmoil as a unit I was able for a year or two more to keep life in my old faith" in most white southerners' inherent moral goodness. Gradually, though, she had to admit that "people were not responding to the moral chal-

lenge of integration as they would if they were what I had always believed them to be." These "people," furthermore, included African Americans. In *The Desegregated Heart* and other writings, Boyle emphasized how much recognition and support from blacks meant to her as she became increasingly disillusioned with and isolated from whites. Undoubtedly, she did appreciate and find comfort in the honors and awards she received from black organizations such as the National Council of Negro Women, which named her Woman of the Year in Human Relations in 1956, and the National Newspaper Publishers Association, which gave her its Russwurm Award in 1958.[38] Nevertheless, her relationships with blacks at the local level in Charlottesville were considerably more complicated. She remained bitter even four decades later about "one of the chief black women leaders in Charlottesville" who "pretended to work on getting out the vote and didn't do it." Her relationships with black male leaders were even more problematic. Boyle had joined the local branch of the NAACP in 1955 and served on its executive board, but branch president George Ferguson never liked or trusted her. Baptist minister Benjamin Bunn believed in her sincerity and valued her efforts more than Ferguson did, but he, too, acknowledged to an interviewer in 1980 that Boyle simply "was not a very popular person with blacks and whites" in Charlottesville.[39]

Boyle's direct and even brusque manner contributed to interpersonal conflicts, but so did her flirtatiousness. "I had this southern contradiction thing," she later admitted in an interview. "I flirted a lot, but I didn't mean it as an invitation." When black men in the NAACP and other groups "made passes" at her, Boyle was troubled. "I expected the leaders to have high purposes," she explained, "and when they related to me on the lowest level while talking the highest level, it was just one shock after another." Boyle never wrote about black men's "passes" because she "felt that one thing I wasn't going to do was to add to the bad stereotype" of the sexually dangerous black male. Instead, she searched for a new faith to replace her belief in human goodness that white southerners' cowardice and malevolence had already destroyed. As she "began to lean more and more on orthodox Christianity," she reflected, "I began to feel again that you just couldn't count on people anyway and I mustn't think in terms of people. My assignment was from God, what he wanted me to do, and that was what enabled me to go on."[40]

The Desegregated Heart was Boyle's record of her "bloodless destruction" and ultimate rebirth through a "fox-hole type" of Christianity that gradually deepened as she consciously affirmed her faith in "Love," "Service," "God," and "Christ" (some of the chapter titles from her book's final section). Her "primary purpose" in writing *The Desegregated Heart*, as she explained in her preface, was "to share my discovery that to have joy and peace we must love, and that in the last extremity we can love only by means unfamiliar to most of us." Her "secondary purpose" was "to explain what induced me, although I was raised

as a typical white Southerner, to take my stand with Negroes against the white South." To her mind, the "Southern integration struggle" was the "background" rather than the subject of her story, despite her prominence as a civil rights advocate—a prominence that would grow considerably after the book was published in 1962.[41] Readers took Boyle's story more readily on her own terms in the early 1960s than they have in subsequent decades, when she has been remembered primarily as a civil rights activist. *The Desegregated Heart* sold more than sixty thousand copies and was read in church discussion groups and campus Christian fellowships, as well as within "the movement." Its third section, in which Boyle described the step-by-step process of her spiritual rejuvenation, was even reprinted independently as *The Back-Together Heart* in 1966.[42]

With the success of *The Desegregated Heart*, Sarah Patton Boyle became a much-sought-after lecturer and nationally known spokeswoman for integration and racial justice. She was appointed to the Virginia Advisory Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and was the only woman asked to serve on the Advisory Committee on Intergroup Relations of the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church. She also continued her work with the NAACP and was honored at a national Freedom Fund dinner in May 1963 and by the Virginia State Conference of the NAACP the same year. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference gave her a special merit award for her "honest and frank confrontation of prejudice." Martin Luther King Jr. also called on Boyle to participate in demonstrations, most notably in Saint Augustine, Florida, where she was arrested and jailed for three days for picketing at a segregated motel in June 1964. Boyle also took part in the 1963 March on Washington and other protests around the South, in addition to local efforts to desegregate public services in Charlottesville.[43]

Boyle's frontline activism belies the possibly belittling sound of a white friend's observation that *The Desegregated Heart* was her greatest contribution to the civil rights movement because its religiosity meant that "maiden aunts, and all nice white Christians, could identify with and learn from her experience." Yet, for Boyle, reaching such an audience remained a key goal even as she herself moved beyond the moderate circles where "nice white Christians" tended to land. By 1960 she had withdrawn from the Virginia Council on Human Relations, though her name remained on its roll of lifetime members. The VCHR had become newly popular after the shock of seeing the state of Virginia actually close public schools in the fall of 1958 jolted white citizens. In Charlottesville white moderates formed the Committee for Public Education to lobby against massive resistance and in favor of what Boyle would denounce as a "policy of 'containment.'" They also joined the VCHR, which the NAACP strategically allowed to take the lead. By the time Charlottesville schools reopened in the fall of 1959 with just a handful of black students assigned to white facilities, Boyle no longer felt comfortable working through the VCHR. In fact, she

described white moderates' sudden warming to her as someone who supposedly "spoke for us all" as an experience that made her feel particularly bitter.[44]

Through all of her disillusionments, however, Boyle maintained her faith in the possibility of human growth and the value of the kind of education for activism that T. J. Sellers had given her. She not only detailed Sellers's lessons in *The Desegregated Heart* but added to them in a second book, *For Human Beings Only: A Primer of Human Understanding*, published in 1964. Divided into sections "For White Only" and "For Colored Only," this brief "primer" sought to "smooth the rough path to friendship between individual white and colored Americans" by debunking stereotypes and explaining possible sources of misunderstanding. Reviewers such as Robert Cromie of the *Chicago Tribune* praised *For Human Beings Only* as a "unique book which should be of great value in the field of inter-group relations." Whether or not Boyle was correct in thinking that "the time has come when individual friendships, more than anything else, will heal the wounds of our nation," it is worth keeping in mind that lessons in a new racial "etiquette" were where she began and expected others to need to begin, not where she ended in her civil rights activism.[45] The fact that she could still remember how hard it had once been to call a black man "Mr." did not keep her from participating in the direct-action phase of the civil rights movement—or from hoping that readers of *The Desegregated Heart* and *For Human Beings Only* might join her there eventually.

Boyle did retire from the movement in 1967, however, because the ideological shift to Black Power persuaded her that too many blacks' goals had changed "from the high idealism of the brotherhood of man . . . to an I-want-mine-too type of thinking which (though natural enough, heaven knows!) severs one from the fountain of strength, insight, and healing love." She was by this time divorced from Roger Boyle and living alone in Arlington, Virginia. Her concerns about the movement's change in direction had been brewing for more than two years. "By the fall of 1964 I was beginning to have misgivings," she wrote to T. J. Sellers, with whom she had corresponded regularly since his move to New York City in 1953. "By the summer of 1966 I had reached the point where I told people *before* I left for the Meredith March that I strongly suspected that this would be the last time it would be possible for whites and Negroes to march under a common banner with common goals." The March Against Fear across Mississippi in June 1966 was, in fact, the last major march of the southern civil rights movement and the setting for Stokely Carmichael's first use of the "Black Power" slogan on behalf of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which expelled its white members later that year. "When I came back from that march," Boyle told Sellers, "I said, 'This is it! We've failed. I don't see anything that people like myself can do or say that will be either helpful or effective anymore.'"[46]

As in times past, Sellers disagreed with her. Or, to be more precise, he regarded her decision "with mixed emotions." He had a strong sense of racial identity and saw value in black assertiveness, but he disliked the new generation of black militants and felt certain that Boyle ought not to let their anger or other whites' responses to it stop her from continuing to preach Christian interracialism. "Black Power advocates and liberals of whatever hue are missing the point unless they can be made to understand that this is everybody's struggle for the ultimate good of everybody," he observed. Nevertheless, he had always had his doubts about the effectiveness of Boyle's—and King's—approach. He "had a lot of respect for the late Dr. King," as he explained many years later, but he "was not a 'marcher' and never had been." In fact, he was something of a cynic. In July 1960, for example, he bluntly told Boyle that "trying to touch the consci[ence] of Southern white folks by play-acting like Jesus Christ is downright ludicrous when Negroes are in the supporting roles" and when "hymn chanting and bible toting are important parts of the stereotype picture that [whites] already have of Uncle Tom's grandchildren."[47]

Despite his cynicism, Sellers continued to fight in his own ways and in what was ultimately a much longer struggle for black advancement than Sarah Patton Boyle's or that of most white activists. He was nothing if not a pragmatist. He had always relied on his himself "to 'solve' my particular 'race problems,'" he told Boyle flatly in a 1955 letter, and his work for the New York City public schools was at least partially about giving black youths the skills they needed to do the same. In the summers of 1966 and 1967, Sellers supervised a team of curriculum specialists and edited teaching materials for a citywide remediation and enrichment program that involved thousands of teenagers. "I don't believe they would have come in such great numbers if they were really living 'with the knowledge that they were written off before they were born,'" he wrote in rebuttal to a 1967 *Look* magazine article purporting to expose the "dispirit" of "black slum youth." "It has become popular in certain quarters to play down loyalty to country, to downgrade education, to snicker at the democratic 'concept' and jeer at the struggle for upward mobility," Sellers lamented. "We see a strange conspiracy of the most militant blacks and the white supremacists preaching the virtues of racial segregation," he added. "Black kids in the ghetto deserve better advice than this."[48]

What they really deserved, in his view, was the same kind of education he had received as a member of the class of 1930 at Jefferson High School in Charlottesville. In a 1976 *New York Times* article, Sellers described his return to Charlottesville for the first-ever reunion of his high school class. Some of his former teachers gave speeches about "things like the power of God to right wrong, the Constitution, hard work, race pride, being prepared, and the importance of home and family," he reported. "As each dear lady gave her words of hope and

encouragement and sat down, I remembered how much those same things had been stressed during our four years at Jefferson."[49] This was the education that had enabled him to become a community leader and newspaper editor in Charlottesville and an educator in New York City. It was also the education that had enabled him to teach and encourage Patty Boyle.

Sellers's encouragement did not dissuade Boyle from retiring from the civil rights movement in 1967, but their correspondence did, as always, give her a lot to think about. She admitted that she was angry at Black Power advocates for making her feel unwanted and suggested the real reason she needed to retire was that she had "shot my creative bolt on this subject."[50] Within a few years, she would find a new subject that rearmed her creative quiver: discrimination against the elderly. She published a third book, *The Desert Blooms: A Personal Adventure in Growing Old Creatively*, in 1983 and worked as an advocate for the elderly for a number of years before her death in 1994 at the age of eighty-seven.[51] Sellers, meanwhile, retired from the New York public schools in 1980 and eventually moved to San Francisco to live with his daughter Thomassine until his death at the age of ninety-five in 2006.[52]

T. J. Sellers is the bridge that connects Sarah Patton Boyle's relatively short though certainly transformative participation in the civil rights movement's "classical phase" from 1954 to 1968 to a longer struggle that began, for him, in Charlottesville in the early 1930s and continued until his retirement from the New York public schools. He was also the teacher who made it possible for Boyle to translate her genuine belief in human oneness into a moral and political crusade that touched thousands of people. Unlike Sellers, she was "a marcher" and contributed to the civil rights victories of the early 1960s through her highly visible presence in direct-action campaigns, especially as an older, white, southern woman in a movement dominated by younger blacks, non-southern whites, and—at least in the eyes of the media—men.

Nevertheless, it is Boyle's writings that constitute her most important legacy, not only because they had a wide reach, particularly in the case of *The Desegregated Heart* and "Southerners Will *Like* Integration," but also because they offered the same kind of education for activism that Sellers had provided her and without which social movements cannot develop. Without Sellers's patient teaching, Sarah Patton Boyle might well have remained an unhappy and unfocused "potential fanatic who has not yet found my cause" rather than becoming a teacher herself through her books, articles, and speeches. His benediction on *The Desegregated Heart* at the moment of its publication emphasized this contribution. "Long after most of us who are here now shall have left this scene," he wrote, "it is quite possible that some bewildered black or white American may find your book and read your battle record, and after reading, take heart again. And this is a comforting thought," he added, "because the end of this long struggle is not in sight."[53]

NOTES

1. *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, November 17, 1954. My account of the hearing is based primarily on Sarah Patton Boyle, *The Desegregated Heart: A Virginian's Stand in Time of Transition*, with letters and an introduction by Jennifer Ritterhouse (1962; Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001), 190–96. All citations are to this edition.

2. Boyle, *Desegregated Heart*, 196. Boyle's words are quoted, with some variations, in "Three Segregation Views Emerge at Hearing Here," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, November 16, 1954.

3. King mentioned Boyle in the edited version of the letter published in *Why We Can't Wait* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), 89. For a comparison of earlier and later versions of the letter, see S. Jonathan Bass, *Blessed Are the Peacemakers: Martin Luther King, Jr., Eight White Religious Leaders, and the "Letter from Birmingham Jail"* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), appendix 3.

4. On the need for greater breadth in scholarship on the civil rights era in Virginia, see Robert A. Pratt, "New Directions in Virginia's Civil Rights History," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 104 (Winter 1996): 149–55; and Simon Leeds, "Civil Rights Activism in 1960s Virginia," *Journal of Black Studies* 34 (November 2007): 251–67. Works on massive resistance in the commonwealth include Benjamin Muse, *Virginia's Massive Resistance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961); Robbins L. Gates, *The Making of Massive Resistance: Virginia's Politics of Public School Desegregation, 1954–1956* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964); James W. Ely Jr., *The Crisis of Conservative Virginia: The Byrd Organization and the Politics of Massive Resistance* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976); James Howard Hershman Jr., "A Rumbling in the Museum: The Opponents of Virginia's Massive Resistance" (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 1978); Alexander Leidholdt, *Standing before the Shouting Mob: Lenoir Chambers and Virginia's Massive Resistance to Public-School Integration* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997); Matthew D. Lassiter and Andrew B. Lewis, eds., *The Moderates' Dilemma: Massive Resistance to School Desegregation in Virginia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998).

5. Scholarship on the Long Civil Rights Movement has flourished since Jacquelyn Dowd Hall popularized the term in "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *Journal of American History* 91 (March 2005): 1233–63. An extensive list of books and articles that contributed to Hall's and others' development of this analytical framework or that have benefited from it can be found on the website of the LCRM Project, which was funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation as a pilot project in collaboration with the University of North Carolina Press, the UNC Libraries, the Southern Oral History Program at the Center for the Study of the American South, and the Center for Civil Rights at the UNC School of Law. See https://lcrm.lib.unc.edu/voice/works/ (accessed May 19, 2015).

6. My use of the term "social learning" draws on Robert Rodgers Korstad, *Civil Rights Unionism: Tobacco Workers and the Struggle for Democracy in the Mid-Twentieth-Century South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), especially chapter 5. Despite obvious differences between Boyle's story and that of the tobacco workers' union at the center of Korstad's book, I, like Korstad, have been influenced by the work of James C. Scott to place great emphasis on the educational process required for discontent to turn into "infrapolitics" and activism. See Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990). My use of "extreme liberalism" follows Boyle's own terminology; for example, see *Desegregated Heart*, 215. I contrast this with the idea of a "radical democratic vision" that was influenced by the Left, as seen, for example, in Barbara Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Struggle: A Radical Democratic Vision* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), as well as in scholarship in the Long Civil Rights Movement vein.

7. Review of *Desegregated Heart*, *New Yorker*, October 20, 1962, 231.

8. Boyle, *Desegregated Heart*, 3–5.

9. Robert W. Patton, "An Inspiring Record in Negro Education: Historical Summary of the Work of the American Church Institute for Negroes Delivered to the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, February 14, 1940" (New York: National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1940); Boyle, *Desegregated Heart*, 14; Sarah Patton Boyle, interview by author, Arlington, Virginia, January 7, 1994, tape recording in author's possession.

10. J. Douglas Smith, *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politics, and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002). On the politics of white support for black education, see James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988). I explored Robert Williams Patton's career and influence on his daughter somewhat more fully in "A Crisis of Convictions: Sarah Patton Boyle's Desegregated Heart" (MA thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1994), 26–32.

11. Boyle, *Desegregated Heart*, 14, 23, 26.

12. Ibid., 29.

13. On Boyle's freelance writing, see Patty Patton, "The Art of Writing Articles," *The Writer* 55 (August 1942), 237–39.

14. Boyle, interview by author. See also *Desegregated Heart*, xi.

15. Sarah Patton Boyle to Chad Walsh, December 28, 1948, quoted in Joanna Bowen Gillespie, "Sarah Patton Boyle's Desegregated Heart," in Janet L. Coryell, Martha H. Swain, Sandra Gioia Treadway, and Elizabeth Hayes Turner, eds., *Beyond Image and Convention: Explorations in Southern Women's History* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1998), 169. Walsh was ordained in 1949 and taught at Beloit College; see "Chad Walsh," Beloit College Archives, http://www.beloit.edu/archives/documents/archival_collections/faculty/chad_walsh/ (accessed May 19, 2015).

16. "Negro Wins Suit to Enter Law School at University," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, September 6, 1950. See also "Gregory H. Swanson, First African American Admitted to U.Va. (1950)," Carter G. Woodson Institute, University of Virginia, http://www.virginia.edu/woodson/projects/kenan/swanson/swanson.html (accessed May 19, 2015).

17. Boyle, *Desegregated Heart*, 50, 56–57.

18. Ibid., 63, 59, 73.

19. Biographical information on Sellers is primarily from T. J. Sellers to Jennifer Ritterhouse, March 31, 1994, letter in author's possession. A photograph of the Happy Pals identifying Sellers as drummer appears in Agnes Cross-White, *Charlottesville, the African-American Community* (Dover, N.H.: Arcadia, 1998), 46. An early digital history project by University of Virginia students is also helpful. See "The Reflector: An African-American Newspaper Depicting African-American Life in Charlottesville, VA during the Jim Crow Era," http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/afam/reflector/newreflector.html (accessed May 19, 2015).

20. Boyle, *Desegregated Heart*, 83–84, 86, 102–16. For more on Boyle and Sellers's friendship, see Jennifer Ritterhouse, "Speaking of Race: Sarah Patton Boyle and the 'T. J. Sellers Course for Backward Southern Whites,'" in Martha Hodes, ed., *Sex, Love, Race: Crossing Boundaries in North American History* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 491–513.

21. T. J. Sellers, "True Democracy," *The Reflector*, October 18, 1933, and "Wanted At Once!! Action," *The Reflector*, August 19, 1933. Available at http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/afam/reflector/articles.html (accessed May 19, 2015). Some *Reflector* articles are also available at "Race and Place: An African-American Community in the Jim Crow South: Charlottesville, VA," http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/afam/raceandplace/news_main.html (accessed May 19, 2015).

22. Michael E. James, *The Conspiracy of the Good: Civil Rights and the Struggle for Community in Two American Cities, 1875–2000* (New York: Peter Lang, 2005), 318–19 and 311–22, passim.

23. Bradley Charles Mittendorf, "From Discussion to Confrontation: Defining Race Relations in Charlottesville before the *Brown* Decision" (MA thesis, University of Virginia, 1993), 38, including Mittendorf's quotation from the *Charlottesville Tribune*, December 8, 1950. Some article summaries

as well as background on the *Charlottesville Tribune* and its relationship to the *Roanoke Tribune* are available at "The Charlottesville Tribune, 1950–1951," http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/afam/tribune/deva.html (accessed May 19, 2015).

24. On proponents of pragmatic civil rights, see Tomiko Brown-Nagin, *Courage to Dissent: Atlanta and the Long History of the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); *Charlottesville Tribune*, December 8, 1950, quoted in Mittendorf, "From Discussion to Confrontation," 39.

25. Mittendorf, "From Discussion to Confrontation," 41; "In Memoriam: Thomassine (Tommie) Sellers," *Campus Memo* 59 (August 29, 2011), http://www.sfsu.edu/~news/cmemo/fall11/aug29memoriam.htm (accessed May 19, 2015); Sellers to Ritterhouse, March 31, 1994, letter in author's possession.

26. Mittendorf, "From Discussion to Confrontation," 32. On the reorganization of the local NAACP branch, see 42–44.

27. J. W. L., "Southerners Speak," *The Crisis* 70 (January 1963), 59; Boyle, *Desegregated Heart*, 102–16 passim. Quotations are from 104, 106–7, and 110.

28. Boyle, *Desegregated Heart*, 82, 78–80.

29. Ibid., 108, 112–13.

30. Ibid., 118. "Everybody Else Is Prejudiced" and "The Semantic Barrier" are the titles of chapters 6 and 15 of *The Desegregated Heart*. Scholarship on the white southern liberal tradition is extensive and includes Morton Sosna, *In Search of the Silent South: Southern Liberals and the Race Issue* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977); Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, *Revolt against Chivalry: Jessie Daniel Ames and the Women's Campaign against Lynching* (1979; rev. ed., New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); Charles W. Eagles, *Jonathan Daniels and Race Relations: The Evolution of a Southern Liberal* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982); Fred Hobson, *Tell About the South: The Southern Rage to Explain* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983) and *But Now I See: The White Southern Racial Conversion Narrative* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999); John T. Kneebone, *Southern Liberal Journalists and the Issue of Race, 1920–1944* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985); Linda Reed, *Simple Decency and Common Sense: The Southern Conference Movement, 1938–1963* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991); John Egerton, *Speak Now against the Day: The Generation before the Civil Rights Movement in the South* (New York: Knopf, 1994); Patricia Sullivan, *Days of Hope: Race and Democracy in the New Deal Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "'You Must Remember This': Autobiography as Social Critique," *Journal of American History* 85 (September 1998): 439–65, and "Women Writers, the 'Southern Front,' and the Dialectical Imagination," *Journal of Southern History* 69 (February 2003): 3–38; Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights, 1919–1950* (New York: Norton, 2008).

31. Quoted in Boyle, *Desegregated Heart*, 158.

32. Sarah Patton Boyle, "Southerners Will *Like* Integration," *Saturday Evening Post*, February 19, 1955, 134.

33. Boyle, *Desegregated Heart*, 202.

34. Boyle, "Southerners Will *Like* Integration," 25; Boyle, *Desegregated Heart*, 203, 229, 203–5.

35. Boyle, *Desegregated Heart*, 243, 226–228, and 206–44 passim.

36. Gordon B. Hancock, "Billy Graham Speaks Out: Calls Segregation Sinful," *Philadelphia Tribune*, March 26, 1955, quoted in Kathleen Murphy Dierenfield, "One 'Desegregated Heart': Sarah Patton Boyle and the Crusade for Civil Rights in Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 104 (Spring 1996), 271. Hancock was a professor at Virginia Union University and a longtime civil rights advocate; for a brief biography, see "Gordon Blaine Hancock," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, http://encyclopediavirginia.org/Hancock_Gordon_Blaine_1884-1970 (accessed May 19, 2015).

37. Dierenfield, "One 'Desegregated Heart,'" 274, 276; Boyle, *Desegregated Heart*, 253–54.

38. Boyle, *Desegregated Heart*, 255; Curriculum vitae, n.d., Box 30, Papers of Sarah Patton Boyle, Accession #8003-a,-b, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Virginia (hereafter cited as Boyle Papers).

39. Boyle, interview by author; Dierenfield, "One 'Desegregated Heart,'" 274, 271.

40. Boyle, interview by author.

41. Boyle, *Desegregated Heart*, 351, xxx.

42. Sarah Patton Boyle, *The Back-Together Heart*: *Part III of The Desegregated Heart* (New York: Forward Movement Miniature Books, 1966). Reviews, correspondence with publisher William Morrow, and other materials related to *The Desegregated Heart* are available in Box 19, Boyle Papers.

43. Curriculum vitae, Box 30, Boyle Papers. Boyle described her arrest in an article titled "Song of a Jailbird," typescript in Box 18, Boyle Papers.

44. Quoted in Dierenfield, "One 'Desegregated Heart,'" 282; Boyle, *The Desegregated Heart*, 292.

45. Sarah Patton Boyle, *For Human Beings Only: A Primer of Human Understanding* (New York: Seabury Press, 1964), ii; Robert Cromie, "Southerner Has Her Say on Brotherhood," *Chicago Tribune*, September 25, 1964.

46. Sarah Patton Boyle and John Howard Griffin, "The Racial Crisis: An Exchange of Letters," *Christian Century*, May 22, 1968, 681–82; Sarah Patton Boyle to T. J. Sellers, March 18, 1968, Box 7, Boyle Papers.

47. Sellers to Boyle, July 30, 1960, and April 10, 1967, Box 7, Boyle Papers; Sellers to Ritterhouse, March 31, 1994, letter in author's possession.

48. Sellers to Boyle, February 1, 1955, Box 7, Boyle Papers; T. J. Sellers, letter to the editor, *Look*, October 31, 1967, clipping in Box 7, Boyle Papers. An undated clipping from the *Charlottesville-Albemarle Tribune* in the Boyle Papers includes a photograph of Sellers and describes his work for the New York City Board of Education's citywide Neighborhood Youth Corps Educational Enrichment Program.

49. T. J. Sellers, "And the Class of '30," *New York Times*, December 27, 1976.

50. Boyle to Sellers, April 13, 1967, Box 7, Boyle Papers.

51. Sarah-Patton Boyle, *The Desert Blooms: A Personal Adventure in Growing Old Creatively* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1983); Obituary, "Sarah Patton Boyle," *New York Times*, March 5, 1994; "Sarah Patton Boyle Is Dead at 87," *Charlottesville Daily Progress*, March 5, 1994.

52. Sellers to Ritterhouse, March 31, 1994. I have been unable to locate an obituary for Sellers, but his death is recorded in the Social Security Death Index, which can be searched online through www.archives.com.

53. Sellers to Boyle, September 16, 1962, Box 7, Boyle Papers.

Virginia "Patsy" Cline

A Life and Legend

WARREN R. HOFSTRA

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Everybody knows Patsy Cline. She is a pop culture icon. Who can't hear her voice—plaintive, powerful, and passionate? Or conjure her image—dark curly hair, bright red lipstick, and a cowgirl dress in primary colors? Cline lived in Winchester, Virginia, and although other notable Virginians have also dwelt there—among them George Washington, Stonewall Jackson, and Admiral Richard E. Byrd—it is Cline's legacy that sticks. A Virginia highway marker identifies her humble home on Kent Street on the working-class side of town. It celebrates "her iconic [song] 'Crazy.'" The house is on the National Register of Historic Places. A recent biography is subtitled *The Making of an Icon*. Icons, as symbols, cover vast cultural territories, and large audiences comprehend them. We can all know, see, and hear Cline in the mind's eye and ear because she is that icon. She died a half century ago, yet as a symbol of American life and culture she lives on, like Louis Armstrong, Babe Ruth, Marilyn Monroe, or Elvis Presley. She stands for something, expresses something, evokes something, beyond reason's capacity for knowing—something powerful, universal, and deeply meaningful.

The evidence of her genius is abundant. On July 19, 1999, the city of Virginia Beach dedicated the Virginia Legends Walk, a pantheon of great Virginians. In company with Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, George Washington, George Mason, James Madison, Robert E. Lee, Booker T. Washington, Captain John Smith, and Pocahontas among others is Patsy Cline.[1] That same year she received a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame. Three years later artists and other leaders in the music industry voted her number one among Country Music Television's "40 Greatest Women in Country Music."[2] Also in 2002 the Library of Virginia honored her as among the most important Virginia women

PATSY CLINE

At the WINC radio station studio in Winchester, Virginia.

Courtesy of the Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Winchester, Virginia.

HATCH SHOW PRINT POSTER

Celebrating Cline's induction into the Country Music Hall of Fame in 1973.

Courtesy of the Hatch Show Print, Nashville, Tennessee.

in history. And when the Library of Congress added "Crazy" to the National Recording Registry the next year, it recognized Cline as "one of country music's greatest singers . . . an inspiration to many contemporary female vocalists."[3] In 2010 National Public Radio featured Cline among "50 Great Voices" worldwide "who've made their mark internationally and across recorded history."[4] By that time, *Patsy Cline: 12 Greatest Hits* had remained—often number one—on the *Billboard* magazine charts of top-selling albums almost continuously since 1989 when MCA records issued a remastered version of a 1967 Decca classic tribute album. Until well into the twenty-first century, it remained the largest selling album by a female country artist.[5]

A conclusion drawn from this array of achievements is that Patsy Cline is not only a Virginia legend but is also among America's greatest vocal artists, musicians, and performers. How can we account for her brilliance so long after her star dimmed following her tragic death in 1963 at age thirty? How can we comprehend the quality that makes her great today? Her medium was popular music, which is not usually considered as productive of greatness. Classical music is recognized for its great musicians or composers—men such as Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and other luminaries, each of whom changed the course of music history in Europe through their talent, genius, and creativity. They were transformative figures. Their innovations have attracted global audiences and influenced musicians for more than two centuries. There is no comparing Cline to any of them. But if one accepts the proposition that in the twentieth century America's popular music is this nation's classical tradition, then Cline rises as a transformative figure in her own right.

There are good reasons for making this claim, which accepts that American popular music is a *great tradition* in anthropologist Robert Redfield's classic distinction between great and little traditions. Working in highly stratified non-Western cultures, Redfield has differentiated the high culture of the learned elite from the "little tradition [as] the catchment of the popular undercurrent." The difference in values lies between the "beliefs" of the former and the "superstitions" of the latter. Nonetheless, the "learning of the great tradition is an outgrowth of the little tradition," Redfield asserts. Civilizations emerged from the "always changing interaction between little and great traditions."[6]

The great tradition of European classical music emerged over centuries following the Middle Ages through the refinement and interaction of local musical practices in a great arc of cultural communication extending from Spain to Italy, Russia, Scandinavia, and the British Isles, with its center focused in Northern Italy, Austria, France, the Low Countries, and numerous German-speaking principalities. By the Renaissance, competence in the great tradition took much study, practice, and travel, all requiring the wealth and patronage of landed aristocracies and ecclesiastical establishments for creation, performance, and appreciation. Because change occurred slowly, various style periods

emerged: baroque, classical, romantic, and so forth. Individuals and individual genius gained increasing sway in effecting these transformations, so that by the romantic period of the nineteenth century personal creativity became the motivating force of music production. The musical output of this great tradition was immense, complex, and entwined with multiple interacting influences linking cultural change with aesthetics, and compounding technology, economics, and politics with taste and social identity.

Can the same be said about American popular music in the twentieth century? Does not classical music purport to be "good" music—uplifting, improving, and ennobling—compared to the baser fare emerging from bars, juke joints, clubs, church halls, and dance halls across the country, or from radios, TVs, phonographs, MP3 players, and smart phones? And is not classical music still judged by the aesthetic standards of a learned class of musicians, musicologists, and critics—a knowledge accumulated over centuries of interpretation and analysis? In popular music, sales and charts rather than standards determine stars and hits. The audiences for classical music, moreover, at least until the mid-nineteenth century, came from an elite class of aristocrats in church and state—a class that never existed in the United States. Devotees of classical music dress in black to perform and maintain rigid codes of silence and decorum when listening, invariably seated in concert halls designed explicitly for this purpose. As a subculture designated by these and other signifiers, however, classical music in modern America, in fact, shares much in kind with the many subcultures of popular music.

Taken together, all the styles or genres, periods, and subcultures in American popular music comprise an aesthetic panoply as complex, as intricate, and as rich with varied meanings and contexts as those found in European classical music. In this sense, both are great traditions. Webs of influence and interaction entwine composers, songwriters, publishers, recording companies, producers, performers, fans, and audiences. These webs function in both time and space coalescing in moments of intense creativity and focusing in different periods on places such as New York, Chicago, Nashville, New Orleans, the Mississippi Delta, and even Bristol, Tennessee/Virginia and Bakersfield, California. These cities have their counterparts in Vienna, Paris, Mannheim, Venice, and other great European cities known for their halcyon days of musical innovation. Few people may listen to popular music in personal campaigns of self-improvement, but the experience of listening can evoke a wide range of emotions as profound as those prompted by a symphony or sonata. And if the great tradition of European music is rooted in the interaction and interchange of elite and folk peoples, then the great tradition of American popular music is equally invested in its own social context and the egalitarian history of the middle classes in twentieth-century America. Most Americans will self-identify as middle class, and American musical tastes divide more by subculture than class.[7] It is within

this history that the story of Patsy Cline unfolds. And it is this story that explains one of the great transformations of that history.

The point is not that Cline ought to compare to any of the great figures in classical music. She composed very little—elements of two songs at most. But she was a master of performance with the talent to convey music's deepest emotional content. What she accomplished within her lifetime and thereafter can be traced through a series of evolutionary stages that resonate with developments in the great tradition in which she worked. The critical stage lasted from the time she became a national celebrity in 1957 until her death six years later. At the peak of her ability and her influence, Cline was the voice and the soul behind the Nashville sound—a sonic expression epitomizing country music and at the same time appealing broadly as popular music. What made Cline and the Nashville sound *popular* were their appeal both to the white suburban middle class of mid-twentieth century America and to urban working people whose affiliations lay in country traditions but whose aspirations were directed toward the middle class. This synergy made Cline's contribution to the great tradition of American popular music transformative, and it explains why Cline was a great musician.

Born on September 8, 1932, Virginia Paterson Hensley entered the world at one of history's critical moments. Growing up during the Great Depression, the girl later known as Patsy Cline lived the experience of her generation's hard times. The intensity of this experience famously infused its music with a power and poignancy that "Ginny," as her family knew her, imbibed as the sustenance nurturing a musical soul.[8] During the next sixteen years the family moved sixteen times. Each move, all within or near the Shenandoah Valley with the exception of a wartime stint at the naval yards in Portsmouth, Virginia, reflected some disappointment. During the immediate post–World War II years with the national economy in recovery, the Hensleys sunk deeper into rural poverty. They lived in a house without electricity or other amenities near Gore, Virginia, while Ginny's father, Sam, struggled against the demons of anger and alcohol to hold a job on the night shift at a local sand factory. Wanting something better, her mother Hilda settled the family in Winchester in 1948, and Sam moved out. Sixteen-year-old Virginia now had to work to supplement what her mother could earn by taking in sewing. Joining the working class and performing whenever opportunity brought attention to the young singer defined the first phase of her career.

Hard times during the Depression destroyed some families, but those with roots in the countryside and rural traditions often thrived within the close circle of family and community on which self-sufficiency and survival depended. Wherever the Hensley family lived, Hilda planted a large garden to feed her family and took in sewing for extra income. Living with relatives, as the family often did, also softened harsh economic realities.[9] Making music together likewise strengthened families when money was tight. The Hensleys, at least on

Sam's side, were musical, and family songfests made for an evening's entertainment. Sam, by all accounts, had the voice—if not the temperament—of an angel, singing, often with Virginia, in various church choirs and accompanying himself on the piano with popular songs for the family. His sisters, his first wife, and possibly their daughter, Temple Glenn, Virginia's half-sister, studied music at Shenandoah Conservatory in nearby Dayton. Virginia passed many hours as a girl listening to "Tempie" play.

Virginia's own musical education—never formal—was nurtured by family and the experience of the Great Depression. In 1937 a move to Lexington, Virginia, where Sam took a job as a boiler man at Washington and Lee University, proved critical to Virginia's emerging passion for music. The family could finally afford a radio. The tensions between country and popular music in the later stages of Cline's career can be traced to this early period. When Sam and Hilda purchased their own piano in 1940, the eight-year-old copied and sang songs from the radio, picking out accompaniments on the keyboard. The house that came with Sam's job adjoined an auditorium where some of the top professional orchestras of the day performed for fraternity dances. The young Hensley girl would have imbibed the sweet strains of Paul Whitman, Ozzie Nelson, Glenn Miller, and Jimmy Dorsey. Even the hot swing music of Gene Krupa, Woody Herman, and Benny Goodman made it to Lexington.[10]

Influential were the so-called girl singers who appeared with these orchestras: Mildred Bailey with Whiteman, Anita O'Day with Krupa, and Helen O'Connell with Dorsey. But it was Jo Stafford who most inspired Virginia during her early years. Among America's star performers, Stafford could be heard regularly on radio programs such as Bob Hope's *The Pepsodent Show*. Singing in a pure-toned, pop idiom, which Cline later emulated, Stafford produced twelve songs that hit the pop charts between 1944 and 1945.[11]

Captivating as these women may have been, other singers also influenced the young girl. The *Grand Ole Opry*, America's preeminent Saturday night, country music, radio variety show reached practically everyone growing up in the rural South during the Great Depression. Performers such as Ernest Tubb, Roy Acuff, and Red Foley dominated the musical imagination of a generation as did the women of the Opry, among them Mother Maybelle Carter, Rose Maddox, and Patsy Montana. In an odd example of musical providence, Virginia Hensley may have modeled herself on America's radio superstar Kate Smith. After a throat infection, which almost killed her as a child, she said she could sing "with a voice that boomed forth like Kate Smith's."[12] The budding performer had a remarkable legacy on which to draw in Smith, Stafford, and the women of the Opry, who exhibited a diversity of song styles that ranged from hard country to the dulcet tones of pop singers calming a country in economic crisis and at war.

But it was not musical example alone that Cline could draw on in the years that followed as she built a career and sought celebrity. The passion in her sing-

ing and her power to move emotions drew deeply on the generational experience of growing up during the Depression. She knew intimately the meaning of poverty, unemployment, and the plague of transience that the age imposed on individuals and families. Hard times could draw people tightly together yet at the same time debilitate and destroy them, as they apparently did to Cline's own father. Shared hardships could create close bonds such as those between Cline and her mother that had an emotive force equal to the magnetism music possessed for the shared experiences of a generation. As a girl Cline lived the great tradition of her generation fully, sadly, and poignantly.

The old house at 608 South Kent Street in Winchester was barely six hundred square feet: two rooms on the first floor and a single bedchamber on the second for mother and three children. A rear addition for a dining room and kitchen made it seem larger by the time the Hensley family moved in. Patsy, as she was becoming known, would have started high school, but with only her mother's income from sewing to support the family, as the eldest daughter she went to work instead. She labored at a local poultry plant slaughtering chickens and at several local hamburger joints before landing the perfect job for a dreamy teenager yearning for country music stardom. She ran the soda fountain at nearby Gaunt's drugstore fixing lime rickeys and chocolate uniques for teens on their way home from the nearby John Handley High, which she would have attended. Unshrinking, she put herself forward at any and every opportunity to sing, make a name for herself, and bring home a little extra money.

Cline and her family were among the working class of displaced southerners who left rural communities to labor in towns and cities where mills and factories had been invigorated by the wartime economy and the recovery that followed. Industry had changed social life in Winchester during the first half of the twentieth century. From the eighteenth century through the nineteenth, the town had served as a market center for the Shenandoah Valley, one of the most productive and prosperous grain-growing and flour-producing regions of the nation.[13] In the twentieth century, however, commercial wealth and new urban markets for foodstuffs and fruit had attracted apple storage and processing industries to Winchester and then textile mills and other factories producing auto parts, meat products, rubber goods, and plastic ware. An urban working class emerged as a town geography of class division took shape. By 1950 two-thirds of all employed persons in Winchester worked in construction, manufacturing, transportation, and trade.[14] Virginia's right-to-work law passed two years earlier had prohibited the closed, union shop thus perpetuating a class of low-wage workers.[15] Most lived on Kent Street or throughout the eastern half of the town. Those who owned or managed the mills, factories, and shops or provided professional services made up a proprietary class of much wealthier families dwelling in large houses behind deep landscaped lawns on Washington or Stewart Streets on the west side of town. In more brutal industrialized societies, the

privileged and unprivileged would constantly be at each other: one exploiting the other, and the other fighting back often violently, spreading chaos, fear, and uncertainty. But in the closely structured world of small towns such as Winchester in the mid-twentieth century, culture suborned conflict in a thousand acts of sublimation and abnegation. Music fit the pattern.

Bill C. Malone, the great historian of country music, observed that by the 1950s country was no longer the music of isolated people living remote lives in the hills and hollers of Appalachia, preserving unwittingly the ancient musical traditions of the British Isles. Country, he asserted, was the living music of working people, mostly in the South, who had moved to cities throughout the nation, bringing with them nostalgia for rural communities they had left behind and a taste for country music's themes of home and family, friendship and enmity, love and loss, religion and morality, sin and salvation. At the same time, country embraced the trials of factory work, the anonymity of the city, and the perils of money and ambition. This was a diverse music born in tradition and invention, from sources ancient and modern, of commerce and the market as much as folk process and oral culture. "Don't Get above Your Raisin'," a popular country song recorded by Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs in 1951, provided a constant refrain for working people cautioning them against social striving, overreaching, and jealousy goaded by the egregious differences, for instance, in life on Washington and Kent Streets in Winchester.[16]

Malone's own experience growing up on a hardscrabble farm in east Texas during the 1930s and moving to Tyler, Texas, when his father found a defense-industry job during World War II, mirrored in many ways the generational experience of Patsy Cline. "Since World War II the southern plain folk have moved dramatically away from the world of their ancestors and have entered the world of the urban working class in both residence and occupation," he has written. "Some have enthusiastically embraced the change; others have never fully come to terms with life in the city." But "country music remained an integral facet of our lives. It spoke nostalgically and reverentially of the rural life we had abandoned and 'documented' the new society that we had entered. Those years from 1944 to 1954 . . . will always remain for me the golden years of country music history." These were the years in which Cline launched her career. More to the point of her experience, Malone commented that "the central fact [is] that country musicians have been people from undistinguished working-class backgrounds who have tried to make their way as entertainers in a society that has little respect for the working class. Understandably confused about their own identities and ambivalent about the culture that gave them birth, country musicians have created a body of music that shares the uncertainties and contradictions of its creators."[17]

Contradictions certainly underlay Cline's emergence into a life of music. Country though her life was, popular music was still a passion with her. If coun-

try was, as Malone asserts, the music of the rural South and a dispossessed working class, then pop music spoke more directly to the experience of the middle class. In a broadly conceived distinction, country may have been the music of Patsy Cline's people on Kent Street in Winchester, but popular music struck a chord of comfort, self-satisfaction, material aspiration, and conspicuous consumption on affluent Washington Street. Popular music as Cline knew it possessed a very different set of origins than country music, although the two genres had developed in anything but isolation. As Bill Malone demonstrates, the lyrics and tunes of many country songs had their origins in the epicenter of popular music creation in New York City and specifically in the area of Twenty-Eighth Street known as Tin Pan Alley. Here music publishers maintained studios and hired songwriters and lyricists who pounded out commercial music with such speed and inconsistency that the cacophony of the creative process struck passersby as the sound of banging pots and pans. But the work of Tin Pan Alley artists flowed quickly into the slipstream of commercial music in the United States, where from the beginning of the twentieth century it reached mass audiences initially as sheet music for piano and voice and then progressively through various innovations in recording technology.[18]

Commercial popular music in New York was big business. A successful song could sell hundreds of thousands of copies, making fortunes for its publishers. It was *popular* music because it sold to the largest audiences in the United States and appealed to national tastes and the rising middle class.[19] If Cline's own passion for music grew within tensions between country and popular music, between the preferences of her mother and the songs her father sang on the piano, and between an attraction to barn dance radio programs such as the *Grand Ole Opry* and her love for imitating the singing of Jo Stafford or Kate Smith, then her subsequent career saw the unfolding of these tensions in the opportunities created by and for her. Her career veered back and forth between country and popular music, eventually affecting the synthesis that would change the course of the great tradition of American music. If what made that tradition great was in part its deep roots in the social dynamics of American culture, then any apparent stylistic zigzagging by Cline proved in fact to be the stitching of that synthesis.

Local radio station WINC gave Cline her first break, although it was not big. Saturday mornings were given over to local bands whose leaders would book a segment—often a half hour—and pay for it with revenues from their own sponsors. Thus Saturdays became "hillbilly music day." One local star was Joltin' Jim McCoy with his band, the Melody Playboys. When Cline appeared one Saturday morning in 1948 (some say the winter of 1946–47) begging for a chance to sing on the air, McCoy responded: "If you've got enough nerve to stand before that microphone, I've got nerve enough to let you sing."[20] It was a start. What followed was a set of catch-as-catch-can efforts to sing first locally at whichever

venue offered opportunity followed by progressively more professional engagements in enlarging geographies of reception and recognition. Cline first built a reputation in and about Winchester, then within a fifty-mile radius as she got regular bookings with a territory band, followed by her breakthrough as a radio and TV performer with an audience centered in Washington, D.C., and dispersed across the Mid-Atlantic region. Always, however, she was searching for the national celebrity that she finally found ten years after her WINC debut.

Did success come as a country or a pop singer? Actually, both. She did what jobs required, always hoping for something more regular, more remunerative, and more reputable. First came unpaid opportunities singing in talent shows at a local movie theater or the Handley High School. One of the local service organizations sponsored a musical review in which she appeared in 1950. For the Winchester Softball League Annual Minstrel Show—a relic of racism still staged in community performances—she sang the Judy Garland song "After You've Gone." A highpoint came in 1949 when country performer Wally "Gospel King" Fowler came to town with the Oak Ridge Quartet. So impressed was he when Cline inveigled her way into his show at the Palace Theater that he arranged for an audition a few months later with the *Grand Ole Opry* in Nashville for the audacious young singer. There she met Moon Mullican, "King of the Hillbilly Piano Players," and even the Opry great Roy Acuff, but the opportunity came to naught because at seventeen she was too young for the Opry stage. Back home she dragged her mother as chaperone to dancehalls and roadhouses around Winchester where she infatuated local musicians such as Jumbo Rinker and Sonny Frye with her musical ability and allure.

For most of these occasions Cline wore cowgirl outfits carefully stitched by her mother. She learned to yelp and yodel, country fashion. Something of a break came when local bandleader Jack Fretwell asked her to sing regularly with his dance band at supper clubs around Winchester or in nearby Front Royal. Fretwell, however, needed a chanteuse, not a cowgirl, so Cline donned a sleek black cocktail dress for upscale audiences and slithered through the pop songs she loved, including "Embraceable You" or "You Made Me Love You." None of these opportunities allowed the determined young performer to quit her day job at Gaunt's until Bill Peer and the Melody Boys appeared on her scene. Sonny Frye arranged an audition for her in late September 1952, leaving Peer smitten and Patsy with a series of regular appearances at dancehalls, roadhouses, VFW halls, Moose lodges, and other working-class venues stretching from West Virginia, where Peer lived, eastward to southern Maryland, Washington, D.C., and northern Virginia. Peer's was a territory band, well known and sought after throughout this area but drawing little attention beyond it. Band and singer prospered. Patsy left her job at the drugstore and the following March married Gerald Cline, son of a Frederick, Maryland, businessman. The match promised financial security, but from it Patsy received little more than a stage name. The

couple separated within three years and divorced in 1957. Peer and the Melody Boys proved much more promising, and the attention the band received soon launched Cline into a larger circle of recognition around Washington, D.C.

The nation's capital had become a hub for country music by the 1950s as the city's population had been swelled by rural southerners who had moved to Washington to work for the federal government during the war. In the evenings they filled country music bars such as the Famous, Harry's Tavern, the Ozarks, the Rendezvous, or the Boondocks near the Greyhound and Trailways bus stations on New York Avenue. A promoter improbably named Connie B. Gay stood at the center of this scene and recruited Cline away from Peer for his radio program, *Town and Country Time*, and for live shows on weekends at the National Guard Armory or Turner's Arena. The arena had been built in the 1930s for boxing and wrestling matches in a white, working-class area of the city. Cline's career escalated when Gay went live on television in October 1955 with the *Town and Country Jamboree*, a Washington alternative to the *Grand Ole Opry*. With other rising stars such as Jimmy Dean, Roy Clark, Dale Turner, Mary Klick, and George Hamilton IV, Cline attracted an audience from a hundred-mile radius of Washington, including Winchester.[21]

What Cline learned about performance, camera work, body language, and sex appeal by working with Gay in D.C. in addition to her growing appreciation for the cultural power of authenticity and her own talent all stood her well on the evening of January 21, 1957, when she achieved national celebrity winning Arthur Godfrey's NBC sensation, *Talent Scouts*. Singing a new song, "Walkin' after Midnight," she made it onto both the *Billboard* country and pop charts within a few weeks. In the ten years from 1948 to 1957 she had risen from a precocious teenager doing local talent shows to a singer with star status and huge audience appeal. With hard work, genuine ability, a few breaks, and many disappointments she embodied the honest working-class ethos of her small-town origins and transformed it into a major asset as she moved progressively from a reputation within her town, to greater recognition in the surrounding territory and region, and finally to national fame. Most successful country singers could tell similar stories about themselves. Collectively they popularized a country genre called honky tonk after the Texas roadhouses where country western, blues, and swing bands performed in the postwar years.

In Winchester and thousands of towns with which it shared divided social geographies of working and proprietary classes, respectability provided the social capital for personal success, and honky tonk was not respectable. Celebrity, however, empowered Cline with a new source of social authority arising from the national commerce of cultural production and her capacity to sell music in the new markets of middle-class consumption where commercial success replaced community values. Fame enabled her to escape the confines of respectability and the limitations of small-town life. This development embedded the

great tradition of American popular music within a period of profound change in American life and positioned Cline on a path to iconic status.[22]

Looking back from the vantage point of the epochal year of 1963, the economist Harold Vatter wrote: "The remarkable capacity of the United States economy in 1960 represents the crossing of a great divide in the history of humanity . . . in the possibility that poverty can be eliminated within the foreseeable future."[23] The optimism of Vatter and many of his colleagues lay not only in the enormous productivity of the American economy in the 1950s but also in the unprecedented distribution of the era's prosperity among the nation's middle class. This was not an age like the 1920s when income concentrated in the hands of the wealthy or the era beginning in the 1980s marked by a redistribution of wealth toward the upper classes.[24]

If the Great Depression in America's mass-production, mass-consumption economy had been brought on by a wealth inequality that starved the masses of the means to consume, then the 1950s reversed this trend by expanding consumption for most people. While the gross national product doubled between 1940 and 1960, disposable income increased threefold over roughly the same period. More and more Americans had money to spend beyond basic necessities. By 1960 three of five American households enjoyed middle-class status defined by homeownership, suburban living, home appliances, the automobile, and inconspicuous consumption. Between World War II and 1960 the number of families owning a home increased from 44 to 62 percent while spending on housing and cars more than tripled. Urban population in the 1950s barely held its own, while suburbs grew by 45 percent. Consumer credit increased eleven fold overall allowing more Americans to own refrigerators (80 percent of households in 1950), television sets (two-thirds of households three years later), and automobiles (three-quarters by the end of the 1950s). It is not surprising that by the time of Patsy Cline's celebrity, the vast majority of Americans would call themselves middle class when queried in numerous polls. Class itself came to be defined less by production and its means and more by consumption. People were what they could buy, and lifestyle largely replaced class as the signifier of social identity.[25]

Music and lifestyle merged. The overwhelmingly white, mostly suburban, middle class consumed large quantities of recorded popular music. Driven in part by the appeal of long-playing records and 45s that replaced 78 rpm albums in the late 1940s, total annual record sales increased from $191 million to $514 million between 1951 and 1959.[26] Tastes in popular music changed as well. If big bands, hot swing music, and girl singers defined the music with which Patsy Cline grew up in the 1930s, then smaller dance bands, a sweeter society sound, and big singers such as Patti Page, Frank Sinatra, Nat King Cole, Peggy Lee, and Bing Crosby dominated the postwar years in which she rose to celebrity. The sound of popular music grew more conservative with less backbeat, less rhythm,

less swing, and more emphasis on strings than horns, on lush romantic harmonies, and on sentimental lyrics.

In this world of musical subcultures, teenagers became a phenomenon. Hardly a market segment during the Great Depression, thirteen- to nineteen-year-olds emerged in the postwar years with more money to spend—allowances and after-school jobs became part of teen life—and more to spend it on. While parents soothed themselves over Sinatra or the Percy Faith Orchestra, white teens grooved—often secretly—to the rhythm and blues of black performers. When merged with mainstream white markets in the mid-1950s, these covert tastes produced the teen-defining genre of rock 'n' roll. White performers such as Elvis Presley, Bill Haley, Carl Perkins, Buddy Holly, and Jerry Lee Lewis joined the ranks of great black artists such as Chuck Berry, Fats Domino, and Little Richard to forge a musical revolution that called parental tastes and cultural norms into question. Country music of the honky-tonk era made its own contribution to the rock 'n' roll revolution with the sound of rockabilly, a distinction more in name than musical substance but one reflecting the country roots of artists such as Presley, Perkins, Johnny Cash, Roy Orbison, and Wanda Jackson.[27]

What did these musical movements have to do with Patsy Cline during the years of her greatest celebrity? Everything. Cline's own musical journey until the time she won *Arthur Godfrey's Talent Scouts* had been carried on the waves of both popular and country music. However much she admired and then emulated the sweet sonics of popular music, she launched her career with the harder sounds and tougher look of country. Bill Peer more than any other influence encouraged her to appear in cowgirl costumes and sing country songs for working-class audiences. In the larger, more diverse market of Washington, D.C., she was often photographed in western wear, including fringed blouses and Texas hat. Throughout these experiences, however, Cline sang with a voice modeled more after the softer, sentimental tonalities of Jo Stafford than the harsher, nasal, high-country sound of Rose Maddox or Kitty Wells. And when occasions, such as a 1954 New York audition with Arthur Godfrey, demanded, she slid into a sleek cocktail dress or the plain linen sheath with filigreed neckline she wore for the victory night three years later. Cline was not alone during these years in adapting pop stylizations to the ambiance of country. Eddie Arnold and Jim Reeves represented a small group of country crooners whose recordings crossed over into middle-class audiences.[28] Cline was no crooner, but the fact that the song with which she achieved national celebrity, "Walkin' after Midnight," rose almost as high on the pop charts as on the country charts suggests that the timing for a pop-country fusion was right.

The result, called the Nashville sound, transformed both country and popular music. Nashville was rapidly emerging as a center for country music production by the mid-1950s. The *Grand Ole Opry* had been founded there in 1925 and

was soon broadcast throughout much of the South and Midwest by the fifty-thousand-watt, clear-channel radio station, WSM. The first commercial recording studio opened in Nashville shortly after World War II, but it was two men, Paul Cohen and Owen Bradley, both associated with Decca Records, who made Nashville into a country music recording capital. Cohen began recording country stars such as Faron Young, Red Foley, Brenda Lee, Webb Pierce, Kitty Wells, and bluegrass great Bill Monroe for Decca in the late 1940s. The studio genius behind the Nashville sound, however, was Owen Bradley. With a firm grasp on the sonic architecture of country music, Bradley, like Cline, had a long fascination with popular music dating from his youth in the big band era of the 1930s. He well understood its commercial power and appeal. In 1955 Bradley opened his own recording studio, the famed Quonset Hut. It was there that Cline and Bradley with a superb group of session musicians enjoyed Cohen's enthusiastic support and gave birth to the Nashville sound over the next five years.[29]

Cline's work with Bradley began in what might appear as an act of fate because it rescued her from the otherwise crushing effects of an exploitive recording contract signed early in her career. Desperate for the boost that an exclusive agreement with a record company would give her, Cline accepted an arrangement with 4 Star Records in 1954 that not only extracted most of her royalty income in settlement for travel and other expenses but also limited her to recording songs to which the company possessed rights. These included "Walkin' after Midnight" but no other material that ever hit the charts. What redeemed the contract, however, was 4 Star's decision to place Cline with Owen Bradley for studio production, beginning with her first recording session in July 1955. Bradley knew that in Cline he had a country singer with a pop voice that could appeal to the large and growing audience for popular music in the burgeoning middle class of mid-century America.

Hard country or honky tonk, as it had emerged in the postwar era, combined the high lonesome sound of nasal singing and the vocal conceits of yodels and growls with a heavy polyphony of fiddles, electric guitars, steel guitars, and drums. The sound evoked the rough music of working-class life, especially in the hardscrabble countryside from which it emanated and the industrial shift work that gave it context and meaning. Bradley calculated that he could keep this country audience with the authenticity of Cline's own hard-wrought rise in country music and the passion this experience infused in her singing at the same time the softer aesthetics embedded in her vocal style could draw in a popular audience. Critical to this plan was accompaniment. Beginning with sessions following shortly after Cline's *Talent Scouts* success, Bradley replaced fiddles with violins and reduced the harsh effects of the steel guitar by relying more and more on piano accompaniment and the brilliant work of keyboard artist Floyd Cramer. Most importantly, he inserted the harmonizing background vocalizations of groups such as the Anita Kerr Singers or, more

famously, the Jordanaires. Their smooth, soft tonalities and gentle, supporting rhythms produced a lush, deep sound that romanticized well with the soft intonations of Cline's voice and the rich emotive quality of her singing. From these new and innovative combinations, Bradley's genius for song production and Cline's pure musical talent fused in one of the most profound transformations in the great tradition of American music.

"It's country and a little bit pop," Bradley said about the Nashville sound, "though it's not supposed to be either." Cline's ability to synthesize the tonalities and sensibilities of both country and pop made the Nashville sound distinctive and gave it tremendous market appeal. "Patsy was way ahead of her times," claimed Bradley. "She was the first country girl in the fifties with a smooth, polished voice; what she really had was a pop voice in a country music head."[30]

Enduring success did not come immediately for Patsy Cline. Following "Walkin' after Midnight," Cline and Bradley collaborated on nine recording sessions producing thirty-five single recordings and eleven releases. But nothing made a major impact until she was able to shed her 4 Star contract and sign with Decca Records. The result was her second hit, "I Fall to Pieces," released early in 1961, which climbed quickly to first place on the country music charts and twelfth on the pop charts. Other hits followed in close order. Recorded in August 1961, "Crazy" was released in the fall and rose rapidly to the top ten on both the *Billboard* country and pop charts. Within the next eighteen months five additional recordings placed high on the charts, including "She's Got You" and "When I Get Thru with You." By 1962 Cline also had three albums to her credit and high-profile appearances at Carnegie Hall, the Cimarron Ballroom in Tulsa, and the Grand Ole Opry, which she joined in 1960. She became the first woman in country music to headline her own show with a stint on the Las Vegas strip. Her tours crisscrossed the continental United States and Canada, often including other famous performers such as Johnny Cash. Awards such as *Billboard*'s Favorite Female Country Artist and the *Music Reporter*'s Female Vocalist of the Year testified to her impact and influence. Other female singers and artists such as Loretta Lynn, Dottie West, Barbara Mandrell, Jan Howard, and Brenda Lee all attributed their success in part to Cline's support and inspiration. During these years of her greatest fame, Cline established herself not only in the pantheon of great country music singers but also as a major performer in the great tradition of American popular music.

Her long struggle for stardom, her mastery of the art of singing, and the extent of her audience made her sudden death on March 5, 1963, all the more tragic. Returning from a benefit performance in Kansas City with Cowboy Copas and Hawkshaw Hawkins, her plane—owned and piloted by her manager, Randy Hughes—crashed a short distance from Nashville. The news spread throughout the country music community with explosive force, and the entire nation mourned the loss of such promising talent. Twenty-five thousand people

attended her funeral five days later in Winchester, and the five miles to her resting place at the Shenandoah Memorial Park was lined with cars carrying her mourners. All that Cline had fought so hard to achieve appeared to dissipate like the final notes of "Crazy" or "I Fall to Pieces," which now took on new and unexpectedly poignant meanings. Perhaps most affecting, however, was the April release of "Sweet Dreams," so emblematic of all that would never be.

The legacy of Cline's music—fixed forever at slightly more than one hundred recordings, three albums, and fifty-four singles—soon entered a maelstrom of cultural upheaval and change in which the revolutionary aesthetics of rock, soul, and other musical movements in the 1960s and 1970s overwhelmed the appeal of the Nashville sound. Cline's memory appeared in eclipse. Under assault was the world of working- and middle-class people to whom Cline sang and who derived solace and reassurance from her voice and heartfelt message. The assassination of President John F. Kennedy rocked this world, then the Vietnam War drove a wedge into American society so deep that it left the cultural coherence and confidence of post–World War II America in shambles. Out of the ruins emerged a countercultural movement of young Americans aggressively repudiating the middle-class values of their parents and their faith in consumer culture, the efficacy of suburban life, and moral respectability.[31]

In this crucible of cultural innovation, it is difficult to understand how Cline's music survived. Rock music captured the spirit of the counterculture in a nihilistic fusion of rock 'n' roll, rhythm and blues, and folk aesthetics amplified by electric guitars and driven by the ecstatic beat of drums and keyboards. Supplanting the love ballads of the previous generation, "I Can't Get No Satisfaction" by the Rolling Stones came to personify the spirit of the new age. As increasing frustration with economic inequality and a growing anger over the persistence of de facto segregation and racism in both North and South drove the civil rights movement into a more aggressive effort to assert the rights of African Americans, soul became the musical expression of Black Power.[32]

In the red heat of alienation from the white, middle-class values of the 1950s, the Nashville sound became culturally controversial. Singers such as Glen Campbell, Patti Page, and Charlie Rich carried the aural conventions of the genre forward, but a reaction set in that rejected its easy-listening qualities and denounced the culture that had produced it. In Bakersfield, California, performers such as Buck Owens and Merle Haggard sought to recapture the hard edge of honky tonk and the rough honesty of working-class life. Closer to Nashville and the epicenter of country music, a public rejection of pop singers such as John Denver and Olivia Newton-John, who sought the endorsement of the country music establishment, led to the formation of the Association of Country Entertainers in 1974 and an effort to authenticate the pop aesthetics of singers such as Loretta Lynn and Dolly Parton as genuine country. Less forgiving were the Outlaws, who with Willie Nelson and Waylon Jennings fled Nashville

and the limitations its studio system placed on the artistic freedom and rights of songwriters and performers. From a new home in Austin, Texas, and a series of summer festivals emerged the alternative sounds of "progressive country."[33]

By the 1980s, however, the diverse energies of the counterculture had largely spent their force or evolved into more sustainable concerns for the environment or natural foods, among others. Pop-oriented country music, meanwhile, experienced a revival timed with but not causally connected to the rise of evangelical political conservatism. For some, country music became the sound of traditional patriotism in an era when newly elected president Ronald Reagan promised to bring the United States back presumably to a rampant nationalism and cultural confidence unknown since the 1950s. The resurgence of Cline's legacy can be dated to this era.[34]

Only a half dozen recordings from Patsy Cline's comparatively small corpus of work could be regarded as hits. This achievement would hardly seem sufficient to propel someone to the iconic status Cline enjoys today, but it was adequate to maintain an audience during the 1960s and 1970s, when the Nashville sound came under assault. Posthumous releases of "Sweet Dreams" and "Faded Love" both reached the country top ten and the best one hundred pop tunes in 1963. But thirty other Cline recordings released up to 1985 did not fare as well, and of the four that charted after 1980, two were classic Cline material overdubbed as duets with Jim Reeves, a testimony to both the persistence and the resurgence of interest in Cline. Tribute albums such as *The Patsy Cline Story*, *A Portrait of Patsy Cline*, and *That's How a Heartache Begins* made a rapid and sustained impression, but it was *Patsy Cline's Greatest Hits* that proved the bellwether of her reputation well into the twenty-first century. Cline's recordings for 4 Star led a spotted career of their own. Purchased in their entirety by Gene Autry in 1960, the rights passed to another party the month after Cline's death and then on to various bargain labels and a discount market for about seventy-five thousand albums a year by the 1980s. But in the 1970s covers by other country stars, including Tammy Wynette, Emmylou Harris, Linda Ronstadt, Loretta Lynn, and Reba McEntire, lent luster to Cline's memory. Induction into the Country Music Hall of Fame in 1973 assured that no one would forget her.[35]

Movement within a great tradition in the arts, scholarship, or public life is certainly borne along by the force of the major figures composing it as well as by the deep currents governing the direction of their lives. That popular attention to the impact of Patsy Cline, her music, and her career increased dramatically beginning about 1980 testifies to a profound resonance between her reputation and the basal flows of the great tradition of American popular music. Numerous signs marked this development, but none more fortuitously than the 1980 Universal Studio release of *Coal Miner's Daughter*, the story of Loretta Lynn's struggle for success and her debt to Cline for womanly support and friendship along the way. Cline came across in the movie as a tough, strong woman whose

talent and force of character brought country into the popular music mainstream. Other major Hollywood movies followed, such as *Sweet Dreams* and a documentary response, *The Real Patsy Cline*. But six musical dramatizations of Patsy Cline's life, most notably *Always . . . Patsy Cline* and *A Closer Walk with Patsy Cline*, brought the pathos, passion, and tragedy of her life to very diverse audiences. As a measure of Cline's popularity, *Patsy Cline: 12 Greatest Hits* remains tied today with the Beatles' *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* as the longest-standing, diamond-status record (10 million plus sales) in music history. Not only have numerous country music superstars recorded covers of Cline's songs, but many artists have reinterpreted her work as a tribute to its continuing vitality and adaptability. Most notable among these is k.d. lang, whose *Shadowland* was produced by Owen Bradley with many of the session musicians from the Quonset Hut days, including the Jordanaires. No other event symbolized Cline's arrival as an icon of American music more forcefully than the issue of a postage stamp in 1993 with her trademark image of black curly hair, bright red lips, and western attire.[36]

What does Patsy Cline's iconic status in the great tradition of American music mean? Why *is* she an icon? Why is she a great performer, a great musician, a great woman? Answers can be more readily comprehended by regarding American popular music in the twentieth century as America's classical music. Because great traditions in artistic, intellectual, or political arenas arise from the aggregate traditions of ordinary people, their breadth, complexity, and evolutionary history are deeply rooted in the social, economic, and technological aspects of culture. Great traditions change, new genres emerge, periods of style or convention follow one after another, often in complex braided patterns, much as ocean currents or tectonic plates shape the weather patterns and landforms of the earth's surface. Transformative moments in these traditions, however, occur at specific times and places not solely as imponderable expressions of deep force but in the conjunction of these forces with the particular actions of men and women who, by the power of talent and timing, assume transformative roles in cultural change. Such a woman was Patsy Cline.

Patsy Cline's moment came at a unique time in American history. Cline achieved success during the post–World War II period in which affluence and the means to lead a good life were spread more broadly across a wide spectrum of American society than at any time before or since. Economists and politicians alike professed that Americans had solved the problems of poverty and plentitude not through the powers of the socialist state or the beneficence of the welfare state but in the liberal distribution of wealth and opportunity in a democratic state. Racial, gender, and ethnic disparities seemed surmountable as African Americans, women, and others among the dispossessed sought social justice in movements such as civil rights and, later, feminism. It was the age of the middle class and a consumer culture that defined it. More people with more

money to spend generated new and dynamic demands in American popular culture. The great tradition of American popular music responded—or in the case of Patsy Cline, rose to the occasion—not by accident in Nashville, Tennessee, soon to be known as Music City, USA.

Patsy Cline is renowned today in movies, plays, books, the media, and most powerfully among the multiple devotees of her music as a "strong woman," a "woman ahead of her time," a woman who by force of talent, character, and sheer will achieved success in a field defined by social change and overwhelmed by competition.[37] She was a transformative figure in the great tradition of American music. With talent, timing, and collaboration she produced a new sound—the Nashville sound—a dynamic sonic commodity that transformed the markets of middle-class taste in an age of middle-class ascendency and whose authentic strength has quite naturally produced a resurgence of compensatory celebrity in our own age of middle-class descent.

NOTES

1. According to the promoters of the Virginia Legends Walk, Patsy Cline was selected among "thousands of nominations" to "honor great Virginians, past and present, who have made significant contributions to our nation and the world." See http://www.va-legends.com/history.html (accessed August 22, 2015).

2. The significance of Cline's selection as first among the forty greatest women in country music can be measured by the "hundreds of artists, music historians, music journalists and music industry professionals" who, according to CMT, examined "every aspect of what a great artist is—from her musically ground breaking body of work, to her overall contributions to the ever-changing world of country music." Quotations from http://www.cmt.com/shows/dyn/greatest_series/76608/episode_about.jhtml (accessed August 23, 2012; no longer available).

3. The nomination of "Crazy" to the register praised the song as a "perfect vehicle to showcase Cline's poignant, heartbreaking voice and superb musicianship." See http://www.loc.gov/programs/national-recording-preservation-board/recording-registry/registry-by-induction-years/2003/ (accessed August 19, 2015). See also Douglas Gomery, *Patsy Cline: The Making of an Icon* (Bloomington, Ind.: Trafford, 2011), 375.

4. On August 10, 2010, National Public Radio aired its segment on Cline as part of the Fifty Great Voices series with this lead-in: "Patsy Cline's career really only lasted three years—and the complete recorded output from that career lasts two hours and ten minutes—but her importance is out of proportion to those numbers." See http://www.npr.org/2010/01/18/122693575/a-behind-the-scenes-look-at-nprs-50-great-voices; http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=129526320 (accessed August 22, 2015).

5. For more on the sales and marketing history of the album *Patsy Cline's Greatest Hits*, see Gomery, *Patsy Cline*, 287–88, 311–12, 371, 373. Gomery estimates that Patsy Cline's music has sold more than one hundred million copies in all media including 45s, LPs, eight-track tapes, audio cassettes, CDs, and downloads.

6. Robert Redfield, *The Little Community and Peasant Society and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 40–59, quotes on 48–49 and 50. Note: these are two separate books published together under one title but paginated independently. Redfield developed the great/little tradition distinction not as an operational model for the analysis of civilization but instead as what he called a "concept of cogitation" that allowed social anthropologists to take the study of civilization out

of the realm of the humanistic study of high culture and into an anthropological consideration of the entirety of a civilization, both "great" and "little." Although Redfield's ideas attracted a significant following, other scholars found difficulty in employing them in ethnographic fieldwork or applying them to cultures in which a great tradition of literate discourse could not be readily distinguished from little traditions of folk culture production. For our purposes, however, cogitation about American popular music as a great tradition allows for an interpretation of Patsy Cline's historical significance. For more on Redfield and the distinction between great and little traditions, see Clifford Wilcox, *Robert Redfield and the Development of American Anthropology* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), 148–57, 165; Milton Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes: An Anthropological Approach to Indian Civilization* (New York: Praeger, 1972; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

7. According to Robert W. Hodge and Paul M. Siegal, when asked, "What social class are you a member of?" or when given the choice of upper, middle, or lower class, 80 to 90 percent of Americans will place themselves in the middle class. See Hodge and Siegal, "Social Stratification: The Measurement of Social Class," in David L. Sills, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 17 vols. (New York: Macmillan and Free Press, 1972), 15:317–18. On this point, see also Burton J. Bledstein and Robert D. Johnston, eds., *The Middling Sorts: Explorations in the History of the American Middle Class* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Richard Centers, *The Psychology of Social Classes: A Study of Class Consciousness* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1949; New York: Russell & Russell, 1961); *New York Times* correspondents, *Class Matters* (New York: Henry Holt, 2005).

8. With the exception of a small collection of personal letters, Cline left a very thin trail of documents and papers with which to construct her life. Most of our knowledge of her life comes from what other people have said about her. The biographical information about Cline in this essay is drawn from her numerous biographies except where otherwise noted. In addition to Gomery's book, *Patsy Cline*, see Mark Bego, *I Fall to Pieces: The Music and the Life of Patsy Cline* (Holbrook, Mass.: Adams, 1995); Cindy Hazen and Mike Freeman, *Love Always, Patsy: Patsy Cline's Letters to a Friend* (New York: Berkley Books, 1999); Margaret Jones, *Patsy: The Life and Times of Patsy Cline* (New York: HarperCollins, 1994; New York: Da Capo, 1999); Brian Mansfield, *Remembering Patsy* (Nashville: Rutledge Hill, 2002); Ellis Nassour, *Honky Tonk Angel: The Intimate Story of Patsy Cline* (New York: St. Martin's, 1993).

9. According to Ronald L. Heinemann, historian of Depression-era Virginia, "Conditions were bad, but they brought forth human qualities that many persons wish were more prevalent today, such as caring for and sharing with others. . . . There was considerable doubling up of families under the same roof and a greater sharing of workloads." See Heinemann, *Depression and New Deal in Virginia: The Enduring Dominion* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 21–22.

10. Gomery, *Patsy Cline*, 43–57.

11. Ibid., 59–62, 93–98.

12. Quoted in Jones, *Patsy*, 15.

13. See Kenneth E. Koons and Warren R. Hofstra, eds., *After the Backcountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia, 1800–1900* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000).

14. See Frederick County and Winchester: Economic Survey, 1961, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia.

15. Code of Virginia, title 40.1.58–69.

16. Bill C. Malone, *Country Music, U.S.A.* (Austin: University of Texas Press for the American Folklore Society, 1968); Malone, *Don't Get above Your Raisin': Country Music and the Southern Working Class* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002).

17. Malone, *Don't Get above Your Raisin'*, 8–9, 12.

18. The best comprehensive study of American popular music is Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays: Popular Song in America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979). A number of works with "American

Popular Music" in their title treat popular music per se as a genre among others such as jazz, blues, rock, and country. For example, see Larry Starr and Christopher Waterman, *American Popular Music: From Minstrelsy to MP3* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007). The premier study of the popular music business is Russell Sanjek and David Sanjek, *American Popular Music Business in the 20th Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

19. On the relationships of musical genre, style, and popularity, see Jocelyn Neal, "'Nothing but a Little Ole Pop Song': Patsy Cline's Music Style and the Evolution of Genre in the 1950s," in Warren R. Hofstra, ed., *Sweet Dreams: The World of Patsy Cline* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 128–53. See also Fabian Holt, *Genre in Popular Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Allan F. Moore, "Categorical Conventions in Musical Discourse: Style and Genre," *Music and Letters* 82 (August 2001): 432–42.

20. McCoy quoted in Jones, *Patsy*, 20–21. See also John Douglas, *Joltin' Jim: Jim McCoy's Life in Country Music* (Berkeley Springs, W. Va.: Troubadour Productions, 2007), 16–21.

21. According to the 1950 census, Winchester possessed the second highest rate of TV set ownership in Virginia. See the U.S. Bureau of the Census, *General Characteristics, Virginia: 1950 Housing Census Report* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952), table 20, "Year Built, and Equipment for Standard Metropolitan Areas and Constituent Counties, Urbanized Areas, and Urban Places of 10,000 or more: 1950."

22. On the 1950s shift in social authority from community morals and respectability to a media-driven fascination for celebrity, see Beth Bailey, "Patsy Cline and the Problem of Respectability," in Hofstra, *Sweet Dreams*, 67–85.

23. Harold G. Vatter, *The U.S. Economy in the 1950's: An Economic History* (New York: Norton, 1963), 1.

24. The income share of the wealthiest 1 percent of households dropped from a high of nearly 24 percent in the late 1920s to less than 10 percent in the 1950s in a trend that lasted until the early 1970s, when a steady rise in the concentration of financial resources created conditions of wealth inequality in the early twenty-first century equal to the 1920s. See Thomas Piketty and Emmanuel Saez, "Income Inequality in the United States, 1913–1998," Working Paper Series, issue 8467 (Cambridge, Mass.: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2001). See also Robert J. Lampman, "Changes in the Share of Wealth Held by Top Wealth-Holders, 1922–1956," *Review of Economics and Statistics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959).

25. Most of this data comes from Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Knopf, 2003), 121–24, 194–96, 302. For additional information, see George Donelson Moss, *America in the Twentieth Century*, 4th ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2000), 344–45; Thomas C. Reeves, *Twentieth-Century America: A Brief History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 156.

26. Starr and Waterman, *American Popular Music*, 152, 209.

27. History and interpretations of rock music are legion, but the classic text is John Covach's *What's That Sound: An Introduction to Rock and Its History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006). Andrew Flory has joined Covach as coauthor in the third edition published by Norton in 2012. See also Glenn C. Altschuler, *All Shook Up: How Rock 'n' Roll Changed America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Paul Friedlander, *Rock and Roll: A Social History* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1996).

28. For example, Arnold with a "smooth warm baritone voice, and a propensity for sentimental songs" hit on both country and pop charts in 1947 with "Bouquet of Roses." See Starr and Waterman, *American Popular Music*, 185.

29. On Nashville and the role of Cohen, Bradley, and Cline in the development of the Nashville sound, see Gomery, *Patsy Cline*, 106–7, 118–19, 122–27, 202–15, 247–74; Holt, *Genre in Popular Music*, 63–79; Joli Jensen, *Nashville Sound: Authenticity, Commercialization, and Country Music* (Nashville, Tenn.: Country Music Foundation Press and Vanderbilt University Press, 1998); Jones, *Patsy*, 70–

75, 82–85, 194–200, 227, 268–69; Diane Pecknold, *The Selling Sound: The Rise of the Country Music Industry* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2007); Michael Streissguth, *Eddy Arnold: Pioneer of the Nashville Sound* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1997; London: Prentice Hall, 1997).

30. Bradley as quoted in Gomery, *Patsy Cline*, 212–13.

31. Popular writing on the 1960s has been extraordinarily prolific, but for some of the best academic studies, see David Farber, *The Great Age of Dreams: America in the 1960s* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1994); David Farber and Beth Bailey, *The Columbia Guide to America in the 1960s* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Sharon Monteith, *American Culture in the 1960s* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008); Edward J. Rielly, *The 1960s: American Popular Culture through History* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 2003).

32. On soul music, see Monique Guillory and Richard Green, eds., *Soul: Black Power, Politics, and Pleasure* (New York: New York University Press, 2012); Joel Rudinow, *Soul Music: Tracking the Spiritual Roots of Pop from Plato to Motown* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010).

33. The best treatment of these musical movements appears in Starr and Waterman, *American Popular Music*, 312–20, 350–54. See also Mark Fenster, "Buck Owens, Country Music, and the Struggle for Discursive Control," *Popular Music* 9 (October 1990): 275–90; Malone, *Country Music and the Southern Working Class*, 141–46, 163–65.

34. On the politics of country music, see Jeffrey T. Manuel, "Country Music," in Roger Chapman, ed., *Culture Wars: An Encyclopedia of Issues, Viewpoints, and Voices* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2010), 122–23. See also Chris Willman, *Rednecks and Bluenecks: The Politics of Country Music* (New York: New Press, 2005); Peter La Chapelle, *Proud to Be an Okie: Cultural Politics, Country Music, and Migration to Southern California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Kevin S. Fontenot, "'Dear Ivan': Country Music Perspectives on the Soviet Union and the Cold War," in Charles K. Wolfe and James E. Akenson, eds., *Country Music Goes to War* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2005), 143–51.

35. Reeves perished in a plane crash less than one and a half years after Cline. "I Fall to Pieces" with Cline and Reeves overdubbed in duet appeared on *Remembering Patsy Cline and Jim Reeves* released in 1982 by MCA (5319). Another Cline/Reeves overdub of "Have You Ever Been Lonely (Have You Ever Been Blue)" appeared on *Greatest Hits: Jim Reeves and Patsy Cline* released by RCA (4127) a year earlier. On the recording history of *Patsy Cline's Greatest Hits*, see note 5 above. The discography of her posthumous releases and covers is treated best by Douglas Gomery in *Patsy Cline*, 283–306.

36. Credited with initiating a resurgent interest in Patsy Cline after the 1980 movie *Coal Miner's Daughter*, Loretta Lynn had four years earlier written about Cline in her autobiography. See Lynn, with George Vecsey, *Loretta Lynn: Coal Miner's Daughter* (Chicago: Regnery, 1976). All of Cline's biographers write about her growing popularity in the decades after 1980, but Douglas Gomery's *Patsy Cline: The Making of an Icon* focuses the greatest attention on Cline's status in contemporary popular culture and includes an excellent treatment of k.d. lang's role in assuring that Cline's legacy would be creatively reinterpreted, see Gomery, *Patsy Cline*, 313–17.

37. Patsy Cline's earliest biographer, Ellis Nassour, described her as "a woman not only twenty years ahead of the pack musically—the female singer responsible for changing the course of country music—but also twenty years ahead as a feminist." And in one of the first scholarly studies of Cline, media studies specialist Joli Jensen observed that beginning in the 1980s, Cline came to be "reconstructed as a more widely appealing celebrity figure—an existentially detached, vulnerable but still inspirationally strong woman." See Nassour, *Honky Tonk Angel*, xiii; Jensen, *Nashville Sound*, 116. See also Jensen, "Patsy Cline's Crossovers: Celebrity, Reputation, and Feminine Identity," in Kristine M. McCusker and Diane Pecknold, eds., *A Boy Named Sue: Gender and Country Music* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2004), 107–31.

Black Women in Prince Edward County

Grassroots Education and the Fight for Public Schools, 1959–1964

AMY J. TILLERSON-BROWN

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Prince Edward County (PEC), Virginia, was one of five school districts represented in the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision that ruled segregated public schools unconstitutional. Located in central Virginia, about a ninety-minute drive from the state capital in Richmond, most of the county's 354 square miles were devoted to agriculture, primarily tobacco farming. Like all southern communities in the mid-twentieth century, PEC followed segregation laws that established separate spaces for blacks and whites, regarding blacks as inherently inferior. In response to the landmark Supreme Court decision, U.S. senator Harry F. Byrd Sr. of Winchester, Virginia, led his political organization (known as the Byrd Machine) to craft new laws that established state-sanctioned massive resistance to *Brown*. He and his segregationist followers were determined not to allow integrated public schools in Virginia, even if it meant closing them all and paying tuition grants to families so that their children could attend segregated private schools. Massive resistance ultimately failed, but public schools in three Virginia localities—Charlottesville, Norfolk, and Warren County—actually closed for several months until state and federal courts forced them to reopen. PEC authorities aligned firmly with the Byrd Machine and massive resistance, however, and refused to appropriate any funding for desegregated public schools, and the schools in PEC closed entirely from 1959 until 1964. This American tragedy disrupted families, caused financial hardship, and galvanized the civil rights movement.

Current scholarship on the PEC school crisis has focused on the legislative struggle for educational equity and the political activism of black men in Farmville, the most populous and urban of the county's six magisterial districts.[1] During the public school lockout, however, many black women who resided

outside of Farmville attempted to sustain their communities by educating black youth while public schools were closed, irrespective of NAACP directives that forbade the formation of black schools. Many assume that parents with resources or knowledge of alternate educational opportunities either left the county or sent their children away to school, while those not willing to separate their families or those outside of informational networks stood idly by waiting for schools to reopen.[2] Examination of grassroots school formation challenges traditional interpretations of civil rights activism in the county that placed most movers and shakers in Farmville, the county seat, and assumed that male and female agriculturalists in the outlying districts were not interested in building their communities or aware of local and national politics. Many of PEC's black youth left the county to continue their education, but those who did not attended grassroots schools taught by local black women in facilities ranging from home basements to grocery store storage rooms. The activism of grassroots schoolteachers illustrates their commitment to community building in spite of stifling racism.

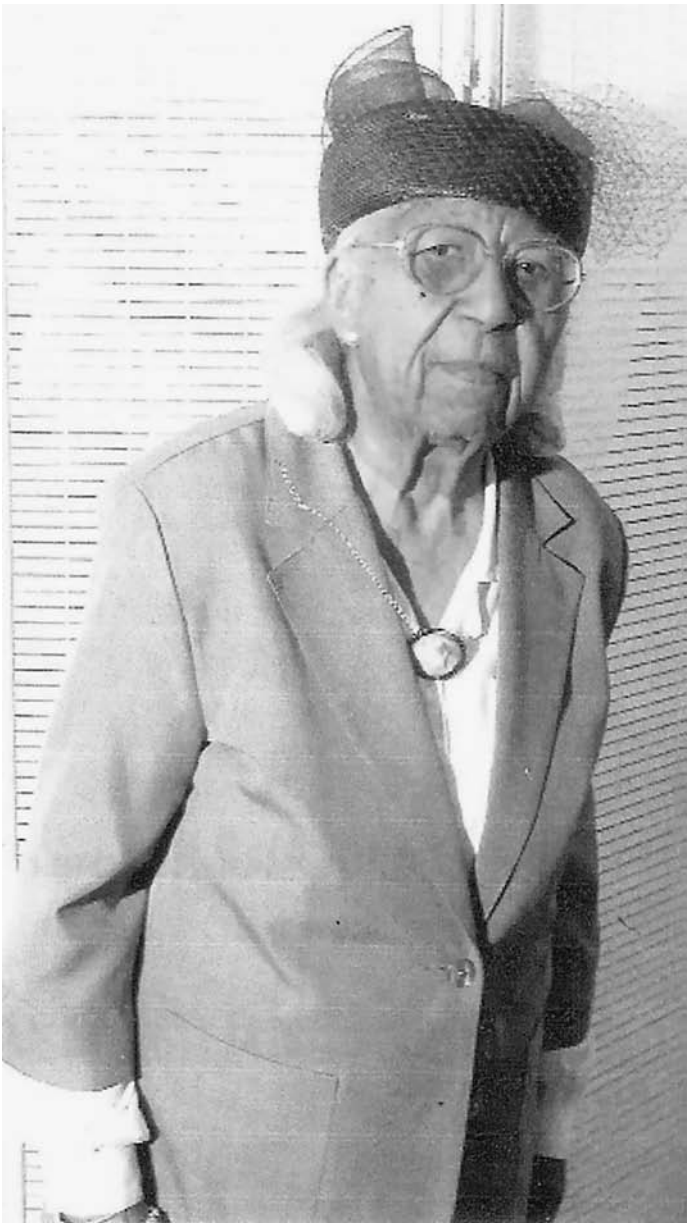
Early publications describing the PEC school crisis suggest that blacks and whites "got along"—and for the most part, this assessment was accurate, unless or until blacks began to assert opinions or concerns in conflict with their white counterparts.[3] While there were incidents of violence directed at members of the black community by whites, PEC was nothing like the hotbed of violence that existed in civil rights battlefields such Theopolis Eugene "Bull" Conner's "Bombingham"—Birmingham, Alabama's nickname due to the frequent bombings of black churches and civil rights leaders' homes—or the several places in the Deep South where lynching was routine. However, economic reprisals and threats of physical harm effectively intimidated many African American Prince Edwardians and made them carefully weigh the benefits of agitation against the potential consequences.[4]

Blacks in PEC understood the power of white supremacy in the United States and their precarious position in the social structure of the South. Still, they had traditions of activism that predated the school crisis, and black women in particular organized during the crisis to empower themselves and their children. The population of blacks and whites in the county was nearly equal in the 1950s; however, by 1960 the net value of land owned by whites surpassed that of blacks by 54 percent.[5] Since emancipation, African Americans regarded landownership as one of the few defenses against sharecropping and tenant farming. Blacks owned only 23 percent of the land in PEC despite the near equal population demographic. With meager economic and political power—but efficient organizing and rapport-building training gained through their work in the Baptist church—black PEC women fought back against white segregationists whose decision to close public schools left blacks with few educational options. These women also resisted the directives of prominent black male leaders who

GRASSROOTS TEACHER FLOSSIE HUDSON

Photographed on October 2, 2014, at the annual R. R. Moton Museum Community Banquet on the campus of Hampden-Sydney College.

Courtesy Courtney Vogel Photography.



GRASSROOTS TEACHER LIBBY JORDAN

Photographed in 2007 at the First Rock Baptist Church,
Prospect, Virginia.
Courtesy of Lillian Johnson.

publically suggested that educators who remained in the county after schools closed develop recreational activities for children as academic teaching challenged leaders' formal rebuff of private segregated schools.

Determined not to allow white children to attend schools with black children, a group of local segregationists formed the Prince Edward School Foundation (PESF) soon after the *Brown* decision and scrambled to establish racially segregated private schools.[6] In a county with no public schools, white school-age children were taught by many of their former public school teachers, whose salaries were guaranteed due in large part to the fund-raising efforts of the PESF. As early as fall 1959, white students attended classes in churches and other buildings as they waited for completed construction of Prince Edward Academy, an elementary and secondary private school for whites that opened in 1960. While white children had the option of attending segregated Prince Edward Academy, the families of approximately 1,780 black children were forced to find other means of education.[7] Local whites, backed with economic sway and the state's plan of massive resistance, were convinced that regardless of *Brown* the school situation would end in their favor.

Some whites, in keeping with paternalistic assumptions, decided to "help" black PEC by chartering Southside Schools, Inc., to run private segregated schools for black children. Black Prince Edwardians were encouraged to apply in the hope that a private school alternative resembling what white students had access to would quell agitation for integration. Most blacks in the county ignored this request, not due to any deep-seated desire for their children to sit next to white students, but because the reality of Jim Crow, particularly with regard to funding, was that separate facilities inherently meant unequal.[8] Additionally, some blacks elected not to attend private schools as they did not wish to jeopardize the NAACP's legislative gains related to desegregation.[9] Others, who saw their children as collateral damage in the war for integration, preferred the option of private segregated schools to no schools at all for blacks.

The most prominent black leaders in PEC aligned with the integrationist objectives of the NAACP and relied almost solely on legal means to address and remedy the situation of locked public schools. Reverend L. Francis Griffin, the spokesman for black PEC, was pastor of First Baptist Church. He was a World War II veteran and had played a leadership role in the Virginia NAACP. Griffin was known as the "fighting preacher" who rose to prominence after the 1951 Robert R. Moton student strike when black high school students in Farmville walked out of school and did not return for almost two weeks in protest of inadequate educational facilities. He made enormous personal sacrifices and contributions to the civil rights movement. Black PEC revered NAACP representatives who had helped argue *Brown* and touted them as sterling examples of black potential. Local and state NAACP leadership as well as national civil rights heroes such as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. encouraged PEC blacks to re-

sist segregated schools, whether public or private. In January 1960 the NAACP sponsored a seventeen-block prayer pilgrimage for public schools, focusing on the PEC crisis. Leaders such as Dr. King, Oliver Hill, Roy Wilkins, Wyatt Tee Walker, and L. Francis Griffin participated. Referring to offers to create a black private school in PEC, King admonished a crowd of 2,500, "I hope you will not sell your birthright of freedom for a mess of segregated pottage."[10] King and others convinced listeners that if they stayed true to the cause of integration, justice would prevail and consequently make the years without public schools worth the trouble. The eyes of America were truly on PEC. If public education failed in PEC, civil rights leaders reasoned that it could fail across the South.

Public education did not fail in PEC. According to Reverend Griffin, "the black people of Prince Edward County saved the public schools in the South, particularly in Virginia. Had we given in, I think perhaps massive resistance might have become the order of the day throughout the South. So in that sense, we won a tremendous victory."[11] After a series of court cases prompted by black citizens of PEC challenging the county's public school closing, the U.S. Supreme Court heard arguments in *Cocheyse J. Griffin, etc., et al., Petitioners, v. County School Board of Prince Edward County et al.*, and on May 25, 1964, the court ordered that public schools in PEC be reopened.

Black women assisted in these legal conflicts by signing petitions, allowing their male and female children to serve as plaintiffs, and providing sanctuary for lawyers and other civil rights activists when they visited the county. But between 1959 and 1964, black women also tended to the educational needs of their children and children in their communities, attempting to keep them from losing ground during the lengthy political and legal struggle. Evidence of grassroots teachers' commitment to teaching black youth during the school closings challenges the assumption that black Prince Edwardians merely accepted the heart-wrenching reality of closed public schools while patiently waiting for the legal system that provided so much hope in 1954 to prevail. With few resources beyond their own funds, black women worked to teach black students. Their educational backgrounds ranged from high school to college, and some were former public school teachers. Collaboratively and individually they galvanized to teach their children regardless of pending litigation that built a case against segregated education. Grassroots schoolteachers did not necessarily object to desegregated schools; they were simply not going to risk leaving their children ignorant for the sake of legal argument. They believed that education was important to securing upward mobility, and they were not willing to stand by and wait for the courts to restore public education, no matter how noble the justification.

Grassroots schoolteachers achieved their objectives often independent of the Prince Edward County Christian Association (PECCA), a local organization that formed to provide educational opportunities for black students with Reverend

Leslie Francis Griffin at the helm, and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), a national organization formed in 1917 initially to provide alternatives to military service for Quakers and other conscientious objectors but whose focus expanded into fighting for peace and social justice. In January 1960 the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW), under the leadership of Dr. Dorothy Irene Height, hosted an emergency meeting to discuss the "Crisis in Prince Edward County" in which Jean Fairfax, an AFSC member, participated. Later in the same year, representatives of the AFSC established a headquarters in Farmville, and in less than three months they had developed the Emergency Student Placement Project. Working in collaboration with the PECCA, this project connected black PEC students locked out of school with host families across the country who agreed to house them so that they could attend school. For students who were unable to relocate, the PECCA developed "play-study groups" that provided students with recreational activities while the county had no public schools. Reverend Griffin described the play-study groups, not to be confused with private schools, as strictly "a morale booster."[12]

By July 1960 the play-study groups had evolved into "training centers" that promoted recreation but, according to AFSC's Jean Fairfax, also expected that some academic training would be facilitated.[13] Those who initiated the training centers in Prince Edward were faced with a difficult decision. They did not want the training centers to appear to be private segregated schools like the all-white Prince Edward Academy. As a strategy, like the play-study groups, training centers were not designed to offer traditional education but to serve as morale boosters.[14] Training centers were replaced by the Prince Edward Remedial Educational Project, also referred to as summer crash programs, with the Virginia Teachers Association (VTA). These crash courses were first taught by members of the VTA, a black teachers' organization formed because the Virginia Educators Association (VEA), founded in 1863, had not been integrated.[15] The year after black VTA volunteers taught summer crash courses, college students from Queens College in New York City assisted with summer teaching.[16] The general consensus was that the summer sessions were a good effort, but not a sufficient one to prepare students for their return to school.[17]

While the AFSC operated in PEC, the grassroots schools and training centers sometimes collaborated by jointly participating in parties for the children and AFSC-sponsored leadership institutes and seminars.[18] However, grassroots schools were different from the centers and crash courses. Some grassroots schools began long before PECCA and AFSC organized the centers. Also, there were grassroots teachers who were not recognized as center leaders in the records of PECCA and AFSC. PECCA and AFSC organizational records sometimes called the grassroots schools "centers," but the students and teachers themselves always referred to them as schools. Additionally, grassroots schools existed even after 1962, when the training centers no longer operated. It is important to note

that many center leaders functioned as teachers of grassroots schools as they did not follow the primary training center operational objectives. The primary objective of the grassroots schools was to provide academic training, specifically in reading, writing, and math, whereas the PECCA study-play groups that became "centers" provided recreational or morale-boosting activities for students who participated. As Dorothy Holcomb, a student in the Saint James grassroots school, recalled her experience: "I have to say Saint James was not a recreational center. Mrs. Davenport was very serious about what we did and I remember having old, beat-up books and using them, and reading and doing math, and doing English, and I remember even conjugating verbs. We did work."[19]

The PECCA did not publicize their desire to teach basic academic courses in the centers they initiated, but they may very well have expected this type of training to take place. Unlike the training centers organized by the AFSC and PECCA, women who started grassroots schools did not hide their educational objectives. Investigation of PEC's grassroots school formation illustrates the activism of local women during the school crisis.

Grassroots schools in PEC took a variety of forms. Most followed the contemporary homeschool model, while in other instances teachers were not biologically related to nor did they have legal guardianship of students who convened in classrooms outside of the home. Today homeschools are recognized as a beneficial, legitimate educational option. According to the National Center for Education Statistics, 2.9 percent of America's youth were homeschooled in 2009.[20] In Virginia during the same year, approximately 33,578 of 1,311,499, or 2.5 percent, of school-age children were homeschooled.[21] With regard to professional training requirements, homeschool teachers have a high degree of flexibility as they are not required to hold state teaching licensure or to have completed an undergraduate degree. Additionally, homeschool teacher curriculum choices do not require approval by any governing body. To qualify as a homeschool teacher, "Parents must satisfy one of four options: (i) have a high school diploma, **or** (ii) be a teacher of qualifications prescribed by the Board of Education," **or** (iii) provide a curriculum or program of study, **or** (iv) provide evidence that the parent is able to provide an adequate education."[22] In 1959 PEC grassroots teachers met the current state homeschool teacher qualifications. Louise Jackson, Flossie Hudson, Beactrice Davenport, Elizabeth Watkins, Libby Jordan, Alberta Sims, and Cula Berryman were seven of the many black women in PEC who taught students while public schools were closed. They all had high school diplomas and/or bachelor's degrees, and some were former public school teachers. These qualifications prepared them to train students academically; their personal and religious commitment to the youth of their communities gave them the drive to do so.

Grassroots schoolteachers were active in their local churches, and their "church-work" experiences directly influenced their social activism. Grassroots

teachers attended school and church together; joined local church organizations such as the Missionary Circle and Progressive Women's Club; held membership in civic organizations such as the Colored Women's Council, Noblesse Oblige Club, and NAACP; and shared branches of the same family tree.[23] Women from the same magisterial districts were more closely connected with each other than women who lived farther apart.

Louise Lancaster Jackson, a graduate of Robert R. Moton High School and a housewife who did occasional domestic work during the school crisis, was married to Willie Jackson Jr. a custodian at the Craddock Terry Shoe Factory in Farmville. They had two sons, Willie and Lloyd. The Jacksons were members of First Baptist Church, where Reverend Griffin was pastor. Like many Black Prince Edwardians, young Lloyd Jackson, born in Farmville on November 10, 1952, met the news that public schools would not reopen in the fall of 1959 with utter disbelief:

> During the summer of that year we heard that there would be no schools—that the public schools would be closed. But we felt then just as people would feel now. I mean, who would close public schools? The people in authority wouldn't stand for it. State government wouldn't stand for it. Federal government of course would not stand for it. So, therefore during all that summer we prepared for school. I remember my mother taking me shopping, buying me two pairs of pants, a pair of shoes. . . . I remember going to the health department, taking my shots and getting ready for school.

When Lloyd and Willie returned home after their second day walking to a locked school, Louise Jackson began to homeschool her only two children. "My parents felt that it was their responsibility to educate their children, to raise their children," Lloyd Jackson recalled. "Therefore they would not send us anywhere else for school. So homeschooling is nothing new for us. It's not a new trend . . . as it's considered today. . . . Each day she [Louise Jackson] spent two hours with us, and each night we spent about two hours reading. This was year round; non-stop every day. . . . We used whatever supplies were available. Some whites that my parents knew gave us their old books." Lloyd Jackson was ten years old when schools reopened, and he entered the fourth grade. He credits his ability to keep up academically and graduate from high school to the training he received in his mother's grassroots school and to the grace of God.

Before public schools reopened, the Jackson boys attended summer crash programs with the VTA. Their classrooms were located in churches, under trees, or wherever students could convene. One hundred fifty-five certified teachers traveled to PEC to tutor students in reading, writing, math, and study skills. Lloyd Jackson concluded that the crash programs were a good effort but did not provide for him as much academic enrichment as his mother's grassroots school did. Lloyd remembered attending the crash courses in Beulah AME

Church across from his home church, First Baptist on Main Street. "I remember [attending] mainly the AME black church. . . . However, I do remember First Baptist also. If you were a certain grade you went to First Baptist, if you were a certain grade you went to Beulah. They used their basement for the training areas. . . . They tried to make it as school-like as possible."[24] According to Lloyd Jackson, the centers' sporadic operation made it nearly impossible to teach students effectively. Jackson's participation in the crash courses served only as a supplement to the schooling he received from his mother. Louise Jackson provided more consistent education for her children than the crash courses established in the county. She taught every day that public schools were closed. In addition to the responsibilities of a housewife and domestic, Louise Jackson accepted the job as teacher. Her dedication kept her boys alert and on grade level while schools were closed.

Flossie S. White Hudson was another PEC grassroots teacher whose teaching benefited more than her own biological child. Hudson lived in Prospect, about ten miles from Farmville. While she probably knew Louise Jackson, their networking opportunities were not as frequent as the grassroots schoolteachers of the Prospect district were. Born February 2, 1924, she was a graduate of Moton High and a hairdresser by trade. She grew up in a family with a history of resistance and activism.[25] Her parents, Otis E. Scott and Susan Lindsay Scott, were from Prospect, where they attended Sulpher Springs Baptist Church. Otis Scott owned more than a hundred acres of land in the Prospect district, and Susan Scott was a housewife.[26] Otis Scott was actively involved in the NAACP as one of the county's charter members and one of the few life members in the county.[27] He worked diligently with the Prince Edward County PTA to pressure the school board to purchase land for a new high school in the late 1940s and early 1950s.[28] Otis Scott's father, Robert Henry Scott, was born enslaved and after emancipation became a farmer. Otis's mother, Alice Gilliam Scott, who was also born enslaved, was a Prospect midwife.

Alice Scott told her granddaughter, Flossie, a story of when she received her most memorable whipping from her master. She was told to go to the spring to draw fresh water, but because of the severe snowstorm at the time, she refused. She must have known that the consequence of her refusal could have been a whipping, but she was willing to take her chances. Her family's oral tradition has it that Alice was beaten by her master but she accepted the consequence. The tradition of activism continued with Hudson as she resisted the objectives of the PECCA to operate a school that was simply a morale booster for youth. Instead, she taught the children in her community the academic basics necessary for their success.

Nearly fifty school-age children from both the Calvary and Sulpher Spring communities, ranging in age from six to sixteen, gathered in the basement of Hudson's home for school from 1959 to 1963, five days a week from Septem-

ber through June. By 1960 some of Hudson's older students went on to North Carolina to attend Kittrell College's high school division due to the networking efforts of PECCA, AFSC, NAACP, and Kittrell officials.[29] However, each year new elementary-age students came to Hudson's school, and for four years Hudson kept a daily roll. Hudson creatively acquired old school bus seats and discarded desks, and she used her personal furniture to accommodate her students from 1959 until 1963, when free schools opened in the county. The privately organized Prince Edward Free Schools Association, initiated under a directive from President John F. Kennedy and funded with private and federal support, operated from August 1963 through August 1964 to teach both black and white students. When asked how she managed nearly fifty students per day, Hudson admitted that sometimes "some of the older ones [students] would help with the younger ones teaching them to read and what-not."[30] Hudson remembered that her paternal aunt and former PEC elementary schoolteacher Pearl C. Allen occasionally assisted at the school until an "official" center was established at Five Forks School, a former black elementary school, where Allen began to teach.[31]

Hudson was former secretary of the local NAACP branch and her father, Otis Scott, and Reverend Griffin worked together regularly in civic and church organizations. When the PECCA-sponsored training centers emerged, Hudson was aware of the activities of the center, but her grassroots school had started before the centers opened. While some training centers in PEC operated only in the summer months or for partial weeks, Hudson taught children Monday through Friday. When the play-study groups evolved into training centers by February 1960, Hudson's school was already in its fifth month of operation. Hudson's school differed from the training centers in terms of initial objective, length and regularity of operation, and consistent student attendance. Training centers operated from 1960 to 1962. Hudson's school operated from 1959 to 1963. Also, while Hudson provided recreational activities for her students as the training centers did, she also taught reading, writing, and math.[32]

Hudson did not mask the fact that her students were receiving academic training. Sarah Vaughan Jordan was nine years old and in the third grade when the public schools closed. She attended Hudson's school and remembered receiving academic training. "We learned in Mrs. Hudson's school. We had lessons in the morning and when the weather was nice we would have recess. It was like real school." Math and reading lessons were included in the daily activities, as they were in many other grassroots schools curriculums throughout the county.[33]

By 1960 AFSC representative Helen Baker identified Hudson's school as a training center.[34] After a year, Hudson did receive books that were donated to the organizers of the training centers and was "almost" paid for her services. "Once some money became available [through PECCA] and one month I got $100 [laughs]. The next month they asked if they could use my $100 until they got some more money. They didn't ever get any more money. So, for four years

I guess I almost got paid $100."[35] The fact that the PECCA attempted to pay Hudson for her services suggests that they recognized her school as one of their centers. Additionally, Hudson participated in some of the leadership institutes developed by Helen Baker of the AFSC. But the full responsibility for running the school fell on Hudson, who did not receive pay or any financial support from the parents of the students that attended her school. She remembered "having to get wood for the stove" and paying for the wood herself. Hudson recalled that she received chalk from the AFSC office a few times, but other than that her school was run with her own finances. According to Hudson, she initiated the colossal responsibility of supervising and teaching community children because "the children were out of school and they needed someplace to go to keep them out of mischief and help them continue to learn, and keep them interested in learning."[36]

In September 1959, the same month Hudson started her school, Beactrice Lawson Davenport and Elizabeth Colfax Hill Watkins, both former public school teachers, organized a grassroots school in the basement of Saint James AME Church. Watkins was born in 1908 on Israel Hill, a free-black community in Prince Edward. James William D. Bland, who was elected on the Republican ticket to the Senate of Virginia in 1869, was a maternal relative.[37] Watkins grew up as a member of First Baptist Church in Farmville, but after she married James Monroe Watkins of Prospect, in 1954 at the age of fifty, she began to attend St. James AME church.[38] Watkins left Prince Edward County in 1961 to accept a teaching position in Bedford County, Virginia, and returned to Prince Edward County to teach when public school reopened.[39]

The Saint James School, like Mrs. Hudson's basement school, operated as a grassroots school and opened before training centers were organized in the county. Additionally, grassroots schools operated with the primary objective of academically educating the students who attended. Unlike the PECCA-sponsored training centers, which provided recreational activities for students locked out of public schools, grassroots schoolteachers focused their lessons on literacy and mathematics. Records of the PECCA note that Watkins was the supervisor of the Saint James "center" in 1960 and that Davenport was her assistant.[40] This suggests that PECCA, aware of the work of the grassroots schoolteachers, recognized them as a part of their organizational network. Grassroots schoolteachers, however, did not change their initial objectives to educate community youth to coincide with the publicized recreational objectives of PECCA's training centers. Grassroots schoolteachers were members of church, civic, and social community organizations, and they probably consented to being regarded as centers only because they assumed that this connection would provide more resources for their students.

Beactrice Lawson Davenport was born in Roanoke on September 15, 1901, to James and Amelia Lawson. In the 1920s she moved to Prince Edward County to teach at First Rock Elementary School, and she subsequently attended First

Rock Baptist Church. Before she met and married Loving Samuel Davenport of Prince Edward County, Lawson boarded with Lee and Carrie Hill, the parents of Libby Hill Jordan. The Hills' home was within walking distance of both the First Rock school and church. Davenport was Libby Hill's elementary school teacher and mentored her throughout her career. After marriage, Davenport and Jordan joined First Rock Baptist Church in Prospect, and they worked together in the church's missionary circle, Sunday school, and various other church programs.[41] Davenport was a member of the Martha E. Forrester Council of Women, which began as the Colored Council of Women, a community service organization influential in raising money necessary to establish the first black high school in the county. She taught for forty-four years in the PEC public school system, spending most of her years of service at the First Rock School in Prospect.[42] Davenport did not have any biological children, but she cared for a stepson and four nieces. She died on March 21, 1989, of congestive heart failure.[43]

In 1959, when Jordan was well into her forties, Davenport recruited her to become a coteacher in the Saint James grassroots school.[44] Since Davenport knew Jordan practically all of her life, Davenport was sure that she would be an excellent teacher. Davenport took over Elizabeth Watkins's responsibilities as supervisor/teacher and asked her former student Libby Jordan to be her assistant. Libby Jordan was assigned to the elementary-age students in the school, while Davenport taught the upper grades.[45] Neither Davenport nor Jordan complied with the stated objective of the PECCA, which was to operate these centers as study-play groups.[46] These women employed teaching strategies similar to the ones they would have used in their regular classrooms.

Libby Hill Jordan was born on March 30, 1912, in Prospect. Her parents, Lee Hill and Carrie Woodson Hill, were farmers, and her father was a deacon at Mount Moriah Baptist Church. Libby Jordan joined her mother's church, First Rock Baptist. Her husband, Charlie Jordan, also a deacon at First Rock, worked on the lining bar gang for the Northern and Western Railroad for years; later he returned to Prospect to cut pulpwood, where Libby Jordan commented that he earned "just as much money as he did when he worked on the railroad" until he retired. Jordan was a housewife until the youngest of her three children graduated from high school. After the public schools reopened, she became an instructional assistant in the PEC schools.[47]

Children from the Peaks Baptist Church and First Rock Baptist Church communities attended the Saint James School. Jordan used her personal vehicle to transport Davenport and other students to and from school every day that it operated. Jordan remembered that the school day began at 9:00 a.m. and ended between 1:00 and 2:00 p.m.[48] "I taught my students how to read. See, we didn't use any official textbooks like they use in schools. . . . We just had to make up things; you know, do the best you could."[49] Davenport and Jordan did have a chalkboard and chalk, which may have been donated by the PECCA and AFSC.[50]

When later asked what months the St. James School operated, Jordan could not immediately remember. Jordan did not think the school operated during the winter. "I really, [pause] I really don't think we went in the winter too much 'cause I don't remember making a fire or anything. But I can't really say, I won't say for sure but I don't think there was a center during the winter."[51] Other students who attended Saint James also had difficulty remembering the length of time this school operated. Johnnie Lockett, a Prospect native who was about six years old when the schools closed, recalled, "I don't remember going to Saint James in the winter. I would have had to have walk. I don't remember walking in the winter. . . . I think that we went to Saint James at least two years."[52]

Other students of the Saint James School have different recollections. Dorothy Holcomb remembered attending school on a regular basis, even in the winter. On the days her father could not drive students to school, the children from her Peaks neighborhood walked three miles to attend school with Davenport and Jordan. Davenport continued to teach many of her former Peaks Elementary School students at Saint James.[53] When asked when she began to attend Saint James, Holcomb responded: "I was two years out of public schools but as soon as we found out that schools were not going to open, Mrs. Davenport stayed behind and worked in the church." She recalled that parents would bring Davenport and Jordan vegetables from their gardens to compensate them for teaching their children.[54]

Dorothy Lockett Holcomb is the daughter of Leonard Lockett and Alma Booker Lockett. Holcomb's maternal grandfather was born enslaved in 1840 in Buckingham County and lived to be 112 years old. Holcomb's grandfather was born property of a family named Washington. He was later sold to the Bookers in Buckingham and thus took the Booker last name. After emancipation, Booker acquired land in Prospect and became a farmer. Born in 1949, Dorothy expected to enter the third grade when public schools closed. Like most PEC residents, the Locketts did not anticipate that schools would close or that they would remain closed for as long as they did. When Leonard Lockett learned in early summer that public schools would not reopen, he did not tell his children right away because he thought the situation would be rectified by the fall. The public schools did not reopen, and although many children did not realize the seriousness of this problem, their parents did. They resisted by finding alternate educational opportunities for their children.

Dorothy Holcomb appreciated the academic training she received at Saint James. When asked whether or not the work completed at Saint James helped her keep up when she went to the sixth grade in Appomattox County, she responded:

> Oh yes, it did. To this day, and I even went back and talked to Mrs. Davenport because I was so thankful to her because when I got in that sixth grade class and

> Mrs. Virginia Hamilton, my sixth grade teacher, it was like I had already done this work. The children even said, "where did she go to school she is smart she knows this stuff?" and it was all due to her [Davenport]. Because I didn't know that I was learning and excelling at the rate that I was until I got to Appomattox and had something to compare it to. . . . I knew the work, I honestly did. . . . When I graduated high school I was second in my class and my brother was second in his class. So we both got the same training from Mrs. Davenport in Saint James.[55]

Gloria Lockett Bowler, born in 1948 and in the fourth grade when public schools closed, had similar memories of the Saint James School. When public schools reopened, Bowler was placed in her "right" grade. She credited her attendance at Saint James for her ability to "keep up." "When schools reopened I was placed in Algebra II and had never had Algebra I. I was able to keep up and understand. The math I had at Saint James helped."[56] Jordan concluded that the grassroots schools helped the younger children. "I think it did [help] because I know up there the children kept up. . . . The little ones had never been to school and they learned how to read and to add the smaller numbers. They learned enough to go into the first grade."[57]

Other examples of black PEC women who organized academically focused grassroots schools were Alberta Sims and Cula Berryman. Alberta Sims, former Robert Moton High School teacher, and Cula Berryman, mother of seven children and wife of a minister, operated a school in the back of Odel Womack's grocery store.[58] Berryman remembered: "She had two extra rooms, and she put the students in those extra rooms." Of the grassroots schools discussed in this essay, this one was most similar to the centers initiated by the PECCA and AFSC with regard to length of operation and school operational hours. However, like Hudson's and the Saint James School, the school operated by Sims and Berryman was designed to teach, not only to boost morale. Berryman remembered Sims asking her to help her with a center in their neighborhood. Berryman recalled that the AFSC and Reverend Griffin met with them to discuss how the center should operate. When asked if she received financial compensation for her efforts, Berryman responded, "Not a penny. I haven't seen one." In explaining why she established her school, Berryman said that she wanted her children "not to get too far behind in school. But God has blessed them. Every one of my children has been into college."[59]

Cula Dungee Berryman was born on April 11, 1923, in Prospect. Her parents, McKinnely Dungee and Hettie Johns Dungee, owned approximately seventy-five acres of land on the outskirts of the Five Forks community about two miles from Pamplin City.[60] Landownership provided blacks with a degree of autonomy and power that sharecroppers or tenant farmers did not have. Berryman grew up in a home with ten brothers and sisters and five stepbrothers and stepsisters who all attended Sulpher Spring Baptist Church.[61] She graduated from Moton

in 1943 and on graduation moved to Washington, D.C., where she lived with her uncle and attended Howard University while working as a waitress in the dining hall of the Department of the Interior. She married Everett Berryman, a World War II veteran, and in May 1946 they returned to Prospect. She attended Virginia Seminary for an additional year. "Since I married and everything, I went another year at the Virginia Seminary in Lynchburg. So, I've had three years of college work and I've gone to so many seminars."[62]

Berryman, the teacher's assistant, was academically prepared to teach students locked out of school. A teacher with official teaching experience was often paired with a teacher who had never taught in the classroom, though in some cases, teachers and assistants both had previous teaching experience.[63] Cula Berryman did not have formal teaching experience, but the supervising teacher, Alberta Sims, did. Sims was a resident and native of Prospect and was born on February 13, 1931. On graduation from Robert Moton High, Sims earned her undergraduate degree from Bluefield State College in West Virginia. She returned to Prince Edward and taught in the public school system for twenty-four years. She died very unexpectedly on March 14, 1990, in Farmville.[64] Berryman, Sims, and Hudson attended Sulpher Springs Baptist Church in Prospect. Though Berryman had familial connections to Calvary Baptist, about five miles from Sulpher Springs, the three women had a relationship long before they decided to band together to help their community's children.[65] Much like Davenport and Jordan, Berryman, Sims, and Hudson had worked in the same Baptist church and were members of the NAACP. After the AFSC came to PEC, Hudson and Berryman attended AFSC-sponsored "leadership institutes."

While Sims had more formal education, Berryman had the personality and ingenuity that was necessary to keep their school going. Sims was a practical, no-nonsense teacher and Berryman an outgoing minister's wife who had the ability to draw people to her cause.[66] The Prospect school in back of Odel Womack's may have developed as a result of the PECCA's encouragement. However, like other grassroots schools, when the AFSC came to the county, these leaders participated in some of their initiatives. For example, the AFSC funded "human relation" or professional development seminars for select center leaders between 1960 and 1962. Helen Baker referred to these workshops as leadership institutes. Berryman remembered:

> Did Flossie [Hudson] tell you that she, and Mildred Patterson, and Anita Spencer, it was four of us, went to [pause] the Quakers from Pennsylvania, sent us to Monteagle, Tennessee [Highlander Folk School] for three weeks for human relations. We went down there for three weeks and then the second year we went to Macintosh, Georgia, for three weeks. In those seminars we met every one of the big wheels . . . Shuttlesworth, Andy Young, Abernathy, all those people. . . . The Quakers gave us a scholarship. We went down there and we didn't have to pay one

> cent. . . . They taught us how to cope with the situation [the school closings]. . . . That's how we got to be into these centers. We had gone down there and been trained to handle the situation.[67]

This additional training, along with their desire to help all children in the community who needed education, further prepared these women to lead the centers.

Berryman was an active member of the local NAACP and had children in public schools when they closed. She concluded that her center was operational for about fifteen months.[68] When asked if the centers held classes or just recreational activities, she responded: "We had classes. . . . Now, if you thought that there was anything within the classes that you could do to capture their attention you would have that. Now there was no formal person over your head to tell you what to do. You were just there to help the students. Of course, we had recess and things. . . . We just carried it along the same scale as a school."[69] Berryman, like other grassroots schoolteachers, was determined to offer community youth the same types of classes that public schools provided.

Grassroots schools in PEC illustrated the community networking and activism of black women who resisted the opinion of outside organizations and of the primarily black male, middle-class PECCA leadership, who believed that their "centers" should be morale boosters and places for recreational activities. However, stating this as an objective may have been a tactic on the part of the PECCA to disguise their genuine desire to educate children of the county. Nonetheless, former public school teachers, hairdressers, and housewives who taught in the grassroots schools did not amend their teaching behavior to fit these stated objectives. By 1959 seventy-two black teachers from Prince Edward found employment elsewhere. Those who stayed behind taught the children. Some grassroots teachers did not have previous teaching experience, but the pedagogy employed by the teachers of the grassroots schools was similar to what students would have experienced in public schools.

Students of the grassroots schools concluded that the education they received was comparable to the education their former classmates received when they relocated to attend school.[70] Grassroots students credited their later success in public schools to the training they received in grassroots schools. Teachers were members of the community and had a personal interest in the success of their students. They knew and were sometimes related to the students they taught, attended church with them, and were in many cases revered as members of their extended family. Teachers of the crash courses, the only other educational opportunity available to Prince Edward's black youth aside from relocation, were usually "outsiders" who did not appear to have the same personal interest in the progress of the children. Nor were they able to develop the rapport with students that teachers of the grassroots schools did.[71]

The women who taught at these schools worked within the accepted gender conventions of the time, as teaching was considered an acceptable occupation for females. They also took on additional responsibilities. Hudson and Davenport, for example, were school organizers and administrators as well as teachers. Since they rejected the teaching objectives outlined by the PECCA, they had to develop curricula and lesson plans for themselves. Additionally, the grassroots teachers who had jobs before the schools closed did not quit their jobs to teach. In fact, Louise Jackson accepted more work as a domestic in addition to her teaching duties after the public schools closed. Flossie Hudson, a beautician, kept her clients but gave them evening and Saturday appointments to accommodate her teaching schedule.[72] All of the teachers were avid church workers. Just as the activist roots of civil rights heroines such as Ella Baker were shaped by their experience within the Baptist church, black PEC women felt a duty to help others in a way that was "serious, immediate, and practical."[73] Berryman was a pastor's wife; Jordan, a deacon's wife; Davenport, Jackson, Hudson, and Sims were members of various church auxiliaries, including the missionary circle.[74] Finally, there were only two teachers who did not have children (Davenport and Sims) and one who was not married (Sims). Duties associated with housework and child care did not subside when schools closed. These women stretched themselves thin to build their communities and provide educational opportunities for black children in their county. Their quiet efforts have long gone unrecognized in the narrative of the civil rights movement in Virginia, yet their contributions had a profound impact on the young people of Prince Edward County during the school closing crisis of 1959–64.

NOTES

1. PEC's magisterial districts include Buffalo, Farmville, Hampden, Leigh, Lockett, and Prospect.

2. Many blacks, especially educators, were forced to leave PEC for employment. By August 1959 sixty-seven black schoolteachers had found jobs outside of PEC (see *Richmond Afro American*, August 15, 1959). One would assume that PEC administrators would not have opted to close public schools as this move would threaten economic stability. However, racism trumped practicality. Raymond Wolters notes that "the county had lost about a half a million dollars in purchasing power when all but three of the county's seventy black schools teachers moved to positions elsewhere." See Raymond Wolters, *The Burden of Brown: Thirty Years of School Desegregation* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 103.

3. Bob Smith, *They Closed Their Schools* (Farmville, Va.: Martha E. Forrester Council of Women, 1996), 3–7; "The Prince Edward Story," Box 1, Folder 13, Helen Baker Papers, James Branch Cabell Library, Virginia Commonwealth University (hereafter Helen Baker Papers); Jill Titus, *Brown's Battleground: Students, Segregationists and the Struggle for Justice in Prince Edward County, Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 44.

4. Asked if he was aware of any cross burning in Prince Edward, John Lancaster, a former PEC Negro farm agent who lost his job due to perceived participation in the 1951 Moton strike and subsequent lawsuit, responded, "Which one? I am aware of several cross burnings. They burned a cross at Reverend Calvin Hill's house. Lived in Prospect but was a pastor in Amelia." John Lancaster,

interview with author, July 2002, tape recording in author's possession. This suggests that whites made several attempts to intimidate blacks in Prince Edward County.

5. In 1950 the population of Prince Edward County was 15,398; 45 percent, or 6,913 people, were black (3,571 black females and 3,342 black males). In 1960 the total population was 14,121, with 5,631 or 40 percent black (2,822 black females and 2,809 black males). University of Virginia Library, Historical Census Browser, http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/ (accessed September 9, 2015). In 1960 blacks in the county owned 43,437 acres of land valued at $610,520. This was 21 percent of the total land owned in the county. Landownership provided blacks with a sense of autonomy. Whites owned 166,528 acres of land valued at $2,061,226. This represented 79 percent of the total land owned in the county. Black-owned land was worth 23 percent of the total land value, while land owned by whites was worth 77 percent of the total value. Clerk of Court, Prince Edward County, Virginia, *Prince Edward County Land Book* (Farmville, Va., 1960).

6. For discussion of the efforts of the Prince Edward School Foundation's efforts to establish whites-only private schools in the county, see Smith, *They Closed Their Schools*, chapters 6 and 10; Titus, *Brown's Battleground*, chapters 1 and 5; and Wolters, *Burden of Brown*, 81–104.

7. The 1958–1959 Annual Report of the Superintendent indicates that there were 1,780 black school-age children enrolled in PEC public schools. See Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Vol. 42, no. 2 (September 1959): 246–57. Approximately two hundred white children's parents did not apply for tuition grants or send their children to Prince Edward Academy. These children were also denied an education. The notable difference is that if these white families could have afforded tuition and wished to attend, they had Prince Edward Academy, a state-recognized private school, as an educational option. Black families did not have such a choice. For discussion of a white family who did not attend the segregated Academy, see Kristen Green, *Something Must Be Done about Prince Edward County: A Family, a Virginia Town, a Civil Rights Battle* (New York: Harper Collins, 2015), 156.

8. See the commentary of John Watson, participant in the 1951 Moton School strike, in Episode Four, "Terror and Triumph, 1940–1954," of the documentary *The Rise and Fall of Jim Crow*. Bill Jersey and Richard Wormser, *The Rise and Fall of Jim Crow,* produced by Richard Grant and Sam Pollard (DVD, New York: Educational Broadcasting Corporation, 2002). For a good description of the difference between desegregation and integration, see James Farmer, *Freedom—When?* (New York: Random House, 1965).

9. "No Schools but Tan Citizens Snub 'Offer,'" *Richmond Afro American*, July 2, 1960.

10. "Dr. King to Spark Prayer Pilgrimage," *Richmond Afro American*, December 26, 1959; "Dr. King Advises Schoolless Pupils to Shun Private Offer," *Richmond Afro American*, January 9, 1960.

11. John Egerton, "A Gentlemen's Fight," *American Heritage Magazine* 30, no. 5 (1979): 1.

12. "Virginia Parents Plan 'Training Centers,'" *Richmond Afro American*, January 30, 1960. For further discussion on the PEC training centers, see Smith, *They Closed Their Schools*, 170; Kara Miles-Turner, "'It Is Not at Present a Very Successful School': Prince Edward County and the Black Educational Struggle, 1865–1995" (PhD diss., Duke University, 2001), 275; Wolters, *Burden of Brown*, 104.

13. Jean Fairfax, "American Friends Service Committee Prince Edward County, Va. Program Student Placement Project, 1960–1963," photocopy in author's possession.

14. Smith, *They Closed Their Schools*, 195; Miles-Turner, "Prince Edward County," 287.

15. For more information about the Virginia Teachers Association, see J. Rupert Picott, *History of the Virginia Teachers Association* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1975).

16. J. Rupert Picott to Lester Banks and L. F. Griffin, May 18, 1961, Box 1, Folder 13, Helen Baker Papers.

17. Miles-Turner, "Prince Edward County," 301–2. The VTA met with various representatives from college research departments, testing bureau directors, school supervisors and principals, AFSC members, and representatives of Psychological Research Associates to develop the Prince Edward

Remedial Educational Project. Their purpose was to review "fundamental subjects" such as reading, writing, and number skills with special emphasis on developing study skills. The "crash educational program" would be taught by "master" certified teachers and a "youth corp" of college students or recent college graduates. Food and lodging for the teachers and transportation of youth to the crash programs was the responsibility of the PECCA. VTA agreed to develop curricula, provide and supervise teachers, and secure testing materials. By May 1961, $1,475 had been raised to help defer the cost of this program. Teachers associations from Norfolk, Portsmouth, Newport News, and Franklin County and the second district of the VTA donated these funds. J. Rupert Picott to Lester Banks and L. Francis Griffin, Box 1, Folder 13, Helen Baker Papers.

18. For example, according to AFSC representative Helen Baker, all of the centers participated in a Christmas party on Tuesday, December 23, 1960. "Each center will have some part on the program. The carols have been run off on the duplicator; each center is making part of the decorations." Notes by Helen Baker, Box 1, Folder 12, Helen Baker Papers. Baker also hosted a field trip to Washington, D.C., for center leaders. "We sat in a Supreme Court Session, visited congressional representatives, attended a workshop in Dept. of Health Education and Welfare, visited Indian Embassy, Moslem Mosque, National Cathedral, and will be guests of the National Council of Negro Women for a buffet dinner and theatre party. This whole project is a part of the program to increase their awareness of their relationship to the government, and to enrich their outlook generally as leaders of the children in the Centers." Helen Baker to family, March 25, 1961, Box 1, Folder 12, Helen Baker Papers.

19. Dorothy Holcomb, interview with author, July 17, 2005, tape recording in author's possession.

20. "National Center for Educational Statistics: Fast Facts—Homeschooling," http://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=91 (accessed July 3, 2012).

21. "Number of Homeschoolers in the USA," http://homeschooling.gomilpitas.com/weblinks/numbers.htm (accessed July 3, 2012).

22. "Virginia's Legislative Information System," http://lis.virginia.gov/cgi-bin/legp604.exe?000+cod+22.1-254.2, last modified March 3, 2014 (accessed August 24, 2015). See "Home Instruction," Va. Code Ann. § 22.1–254.1, last modified March 26, 2015.

23. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880–1920* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993). The church was central to community identity and according to Higginbotham was "the only space truly accessible to the black community" in the post-Reconstruction South (7). The church has historically been critical to black community improvement, whether through providing public space for collaboration or experiences for members—women in particular—to organize for community uplift. For how the Baptist Church influenced the activist strategies of Ella Baker, see chapter 1 of Barbara Ransby's *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

24. Lloyd Jackson, interview with author, September 22, 2002, tape recording in author's possession.

25. Flossie Hudson, interviews with author, January 23, 2002, and June 15, 2009, tape recordings in author's possession. Flossie White Hudson is the same Flossie S. White to whom Kara Miles-Turner refers in her dissertation: "Beautician and local NAACP secretary Flossie S. White had also started a study group in her basement for her son and neighboring children 'long before the centers were opened'" ("Prince Edward County," 287). Hudson married Reverend Harry Hudson after the death of her first husband, Harold White. Mildred Patterson is also mentioned in this dissertation as conducting neighborhood study groups. Patterson lived and still lives in the Buffalo district of Prince Edward County and verified her involvement with the "training centers" in an interview with the author, January 23, 2002, tape recording in author's possession.

26. Prince Edward County Land Book 1950; PEC census, 1930–1940; Flossie Hudson interview, January 23, 2002.

27. Magnolia B. Hayes verified Mr. Otis Scott's life NAACP membership. Magnolia B. Hayes, interview with author, January 29, 2002, tape recording in author's possession. Hayes had held executive positions in the local NAACP since 1950. Jill Titus, in *Brown's Battleground*, refers to Otis Scott as "an NAACP man" (49).

28. John G. Lancaster, interview with author, August 2002, tape recording in author's possession; Prince Edward County School Board Minutes, Prince Edward County School Board Office Archives, Farmville, Virginia, March 2, 1950.

29. Smith, *They Closed Their Schools*, 170; Miles-Turner, "Prince Edward County," 275; Wolters, *Burden of Brown*, 104.

30. Flossie White Hudson interview, January 23, 2002.

31. Helen Baker's papers contain a list of the Prince Edward County community center leaders, including twenty-five teachers. Three teachers, Althea S. Jones, Pearl Lyle, and Flossie White, are listed as working at the Five Forks center. Oral testimony and this document contradict each other; Flossie White (Hudson) did not teach at Five Forks. Her home in Prospect is in close proximity to the Five Forks community; however, Hudson adamantly states that she taught in her basement for the entire time schools were closed. She may not have corrected the AFSC in their assumption that she taught in the Five Forks Center so that she would be able to receive donated supplies and attend leadership institutes. Also, Hudson's school was recognized as a center as early as 1960; however, Hudson's school opened in September 1959. The Operation 1700 Special Report housed in the Helen Baker Papers notes that Hudson's school operated "long before the centers were opened." PECCA Operation 1700 Special Report, May 9, 1960, Box 1, Folder 13, Helen Baker Papers. Flossie White Hudson also corroborated this information in her interview with the author (January 23, 2002).

32. Flossie Hudson interview, January 23, 2002; PECCA Operation 1700 Special Report.

33. Sarah Vaughan Jordan, interview with author, July 18, 2005, tape recording in author's possession.

34. "List of Training Centers in Prince Edward County, Virginia," Box 1, Folder 13, Helen Baker Papers.

35. Ibid. Miles-Turner writes: "As of 17 December 1960, center leaders had not been paid at all for that term's work. By February 1961, they had received only $100 salary, and the assistants had been paid only $50. . . . Center personnel was still owed $2,625." Miles-Turner, "Prince Edward County," 292. Hudson was "almost" paid by the PECCA, but her school was quite different in terms of duration and activities. Her school was already in operation before the training centers were established, and it continued after 1962, the year the other training centers closed.

36. Flossie Hudson interviews, January 23, 2002, and June 15, 2009.

37. Ancestry.com. *Virginia, Marriage Records, 1936–2014* [database on-line]. Provo, Utah, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2015; Luther Porther Jackson, *Negro Office Holders in VA, 1865–1895* (Norfolk, Va.: Guide Quality Press, 1945).

38. For information on Watkins and her Israel Hill roots, see Melvin Patrick Ely, *Israel on the Appomattox* (New York: Vintage, 2005), 429–32.

39. Watkins commuted approximately sixty miles from her home in Prospect to Bedford County. Libby Jordan, interview by the author, August 15, 2002, tape recording in author's possession; Thomas Tillerson, interview with author, December 2005, tape recording in author's possession.

40. "Prince Edward County Training Centers: The Supervisors and Assistants, 1960," Box 1, Folder 13, Helen Baker Papers. PECCA records also indicate that Watkins was a member of First Baptist Church in Farmville; however, she lived in Prospect and attended Saint James AME church also.

41. Missionary circles or "clubs" were/are popular in the Baptist Church. For more information on the work of black Baptist women in their church organizations, see Higgenbotham, *Righteous Discontent*, esp. chapter 6.

42. Davenport also taught at Peaks Elementary School. Dorothy Holcomb interview, July 17, 2005. For more information on the Noblesse Oblige Club and Colored Council of Women, see

Amy J. Tillerson, "Negotiating Intersections of Gender, Social Class, and Race: Black Women in Prince Edward County, Virginia, Activists and Community Builders, 1930–1965" (PhD diss., Morgan State University, 2006), chapter 4.

43. Obituary for Beactrice Davenport, Bland Reid Funeral Home, March 1989. Copy in author's possession. Mrs. Davenport's first name was spelled "Beactrice" on her obituary and in some of the PEC school board records and "Beatrice" on several census records. People that I interviewed pronounced her name "Bea-ack-triss" as opposed to "Be-a-trice." Since family members most likely prepared her obituary and knew the appropriate spelling, and since the less traditional spelling coincides with the phonetic pronunciation of her name by students and friends, I accepted the nontraditional spelling of Davenport's first name.

44. Libby Jordan interview, May 2015, tape recording in author's possession.

45. Libby Jordan interview, August 15, 2002.

46. "Operation 1700 Special Report," Box 1, Folder 13, Helen Baker Papers.

47. Libby Jordan interview, August 15, 2002.

48. The centers operated from 10:00 a.m. to 1:30 p.m. Miles-Turner, "Prince Edward County," 291.

49. Libby Jordan interview, August 15, 2002.

50. Miles-Turner, "Prince Edward County," 290.

51. Libby Jordan interview, August 15, 2002. Jordan was ninety years old at the time of this interview.

52. Johnnie Lockett, telephone interview with author, August 15, 2002, notes in author's possession.

53. Unlike white teachers who taught their former students at Prince Edward Academy, Davenport was not paid her regular salary.

54. Dorothy Holcomb interview, July 17, 2005; Dorothy Holcomb, *Educated in Spite of . . . : A Promise Kept* (Farmville, Va.: MAKKA Productions, 2012), chapter 3.

55. Dorothy Holcomb interview, July 17, 2005.

56. Gloria Bowler, interview with author, September 2002, tape recording in author's possession.

57. Libby Jordan interview, August 15, 2002. Helen Baker also believed that the centers helped the younger children. As she wrote Jean Fairfax, "Obviously most of the leaders are more adept at handling the small children than the teenagers." October 1960, Box 1, folder 13, Helen Baker Papers.

58. PECCA Operation 1700 Special Report.

59. Cula Berryman, interview with author, August 2002, tape recording in author's possession.

60. Ibid. Berryman is the second cousin of civil rights activist Vernon Johns. "His mother and my mother married two brothers. They are double first cousins. . . . I lived with Rev. Johns in order to go to school in the days of my early going to school. I had to be the housekeeper for Mrs. Johns, his wife, as she taught school. I helped her with her six children in order to get into high school. My father wasn't really able to support the bus. We had to pay for the bus. We had no free buses to go on. . . . Mr. Hendricks's bus was the bus that you had to pay for." Kara Miles-Turner discusses how blacks in Prospect provided transportation to school for their children without support from the school board. "Mr. Hendricks had four children of high school age. Obviously wanting his children to be able to attend high school, but concerned about the economic impact of paying for transportation, or boarding, for all four, he purchased an old school bus. For $5.00 a month Hendricks transported other neighborhood children, along with his own, to the high school." Miles-Turner, "Prince Edward County," 136–37.

61. Berryman's biological mother died after the birth of her eleventh child. Dungee remarried and had five more children. Berryman has vivid memories of farming tobacco with her brothers and sisters. Cula D. Berryman interviews, August 2002 and Cula D. Berryman, interview with author, July 17, 2009.

62. Cula Berryman interview, August 2002. PECCA records indicate that Berryman had one year of college experience. PECCA Operation 1700 Special Report.

63. PECCA Operation 1700 Special Report. Instances where both the teacher and assistant had former teaching experience were the centers in Meherrin and Hampden Sydney.

64. Obituary for Alberta Sims, Bland Reid Funeral Home, March 18, 1990. Copy in author's possession.

65. Lillian Johnson, interview with the author, May 16, 2015, notes in author's possession.

66. Berryman's husband was a Baptist minister and pastor. Phyllis Tillerson, interview with the author, December 24, 2004, tape recording in the author's possession.

67. Most of the institutes discussed in the Helen Baker Papers lasted one or two days. There is no mention of three-week-long "leadership institutes"; however, AFSC may have networked with other organizations to secure a place for select center leaders. Highlander Folk Schools conducted workshops from their location in Monteagle, Tennessee, and Berryman and others could have attended one of these workshops.

68. AFSC records indicate that the "training centers" operated for eighteen months.

69. Cula Berryman interview, August 2002.

70. Johnny Lockett Interview, August 15, 2002; Gloria Bowler, interview with the author, August 17, 2002, notes in author's possession; Dorothy Holcomb interview, July 17, 2005.

71. Lloyd Jackson interview, September 22, 2002.

72. Flossie Hudson interview, January 23, 2002.

73. Ransby, *Ella Baker*, 19.

74. Obituaries for Alberta Sims and Beactrice Davenport; First Rock Baptist Church Missionary Day Program, June 19, 1960, copy in author's possession; Flossie Hudson interview, January 23, 2002; Leola Hill, interview with the author, August 16, 2002, tape recording in author's possession.

Mildred Loving

The Extraordinary Life of an Ordinary Woman

ARICA L. COLEMAN

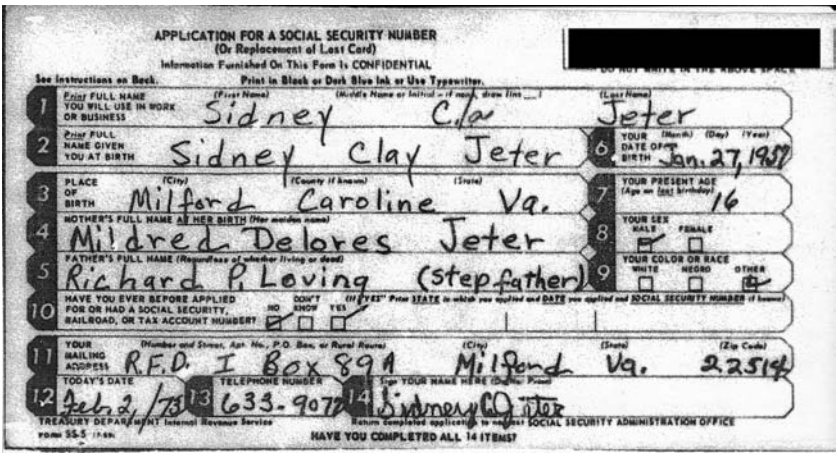
❀ ❀ ❀

Mildred Loving never wanted to be famous. She only wanted to live with her husband and three children in their quiet community in a remote corner of Caroline County, Virginia, known as Central Point. But that was impossible in 1958 due to the commonwealth's proscription against interracial marriage. Mildred's husband, twenty-four-year-old Richard Perry Loving, was by Virginia definition "white"; eighteen-year-old Mildred was "colored." Despite the state's proscription against interracial marriage, which forbade white people from marrying people of color, there was much interracial intimacy across the color line in Central Point. The romance that blossomed between Mildred and Richard proved to be no exception. After Mildred became pregnant, the couple traveled to the District of Columbia, where interracial marriage was not forbidden. They obtained a marriage license and married on June 2, 1958. The couple returned to their close-knit Central Point community believing that their secret was safe; however, not long after their return someone alerted the county authorities. At 2:00 a.m. on July 11, 1958, as the couple lay sleeping in the downstairs bedroom of Mildred's parents' house, county sheriff R. Garnett Brooks and his deputies barged into the couple's bedroom and arrested them for the felony of miscegenation. The penalty for this "crime" was a year in the county jail; however, on January 6, 1959, Judge Leon M. Bazile suspended the sentence with the stipulation that the couple leave Virginia and not return for a period of twenty-five years. The Lovings moved to Washington, D.C. After a few years in exile, Mildred began contacting federal authorities regarding the family's dilemma. A letter she wrote to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) in 1963 fell into the hands of a young, ambitious attorney, Bernard Cohen. Recognizing the potential of the case, Cohen tapped his colleague Philip Hirschkop to assist

HOUSE BUILT BY RICHARD LOVING

At 18146 Passing Road, Central Point, Caroline County, Virginia, c. 1969.

Photo by author.



APPLICATION FOR A SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER
(Or Replacement of Lost Card)
Information Furnished On This Form Is CONFIDENTIAL
See Instructions on Back. Print in Black or Dark Blue Ink or Use Typewriter.

1 Print FULL NAME YOU WILL USE IN WORK OR BUSINESS: (First Name) Sidney (Middle Name or Initial — if none, draw line) C. (Last Name) Jeter
2 Print FULL NAME GIVEN YOU AT BIRTH: Sidney Clay Jeter
6 YOUR DATE OF BIRTH (Month) (Day) (Year): Jan. 27, 1957
3 PLACE OF BIRTH (City) Milford (County if known) Caroline (State) Va.
7 YOUR PRESENT AGE (Age on last birthday): 16
4 MOTHER'S FULL NAME AT HER BIRTH (Her maiden name): Mildred Delores Jeter
8 YOUR SEX: MALE ☒ FEMALE ☐
5 FATHER'S FULL NAME (Regardless of whether living or dead): Richard P. Loving (stepfather)
9 YOUR COLOR OR RACE: WHITE ☐ NEGRO ☐ OTHER ☒
10 HAVE YOU EVER BEFORE APPLIED FOR OR HAD A SOCIAL SECURITY, RAILROAD, OR TAX ACCOUNT NUMBER? NO ☐ DON'T KNOW ☐ YES ☐ (If "YES" Print STATE in which you applied and DATE you applied and SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER if known)
11 YOUR MAILING ADDRESS (Number and Street, Apt. No., P.O. Box, or Rural Route): R.F.D. I Box 891 (City) Milford (State) Va. (Zip Code) 22514
12 TODAY'S DATE: Feb. 2, 73
13 TELEPHONE NUMBER: 633-9077
14 Sign YOUR NAME HERE (Do Not Print): Sidney C Jeter

TREASURY DEPARTMENT Internal Revenue Service — Return Completed Application to any SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION OFFICE
Form SS-5 (7-69)
HAVE YOU COMPLETED ALL 14 ITEMS?

SIDNEY C. JETER'S SOCIAL SECURITY APPLICATION

Obtained from the Social Security Administration Freedom of Information Office in Baltimore, Maryland.

him for what he was sure would become a Supreme Court case. As predicted, the case *Loving v. The Commonwealth of Virginia* was argued before the U.S. Supreme Court on April 10, 1967. On June 12, 1967, *Loving v. The Commonwealth of Virginia* became the landmark decision that struck down antimiscegenation laws that denied anyone the right to marry on the basis of race.

Since that time, Mildred Loving has been celebrated as a civil rights icon with many comparing her to Rosa Parks. Mildred, however, shunned such comparisons. She never embraced the heroic status others ascribed to her. She seldom granted interviews and refused to make appearances at public commemorations marking the anniversary of the Supreme Court decision. She once stated that the anniversary of the landmark decision was "just another day. . . . Sometimes I forget." How does one interpret such a statement? Did Mildred Loving truly fail to grasp the significance of this historic moment and her role in it? The attitude she exhibited throughout her lifetime regarding this landmark decision raises more questions than answers. What is clear is that instead of relishing the limelight, Mildred spent more than four decades resisting any attempt to define her life solely as the woman who, in the words of journalist Simeon Booker, "rocked courts." Yet the question of who Mildred Loving was remains shrouded in mystery due to a dearth of records as well as her own concerted effort to shield herself and her family from public scrutiny. Despite her efforts to maintain the persona of an ordinary woman who married an ordinary man, Mildred's legacy defies this simplistic notion and bears testimony to an extraordinary life that continues to inspire and intrigue.[1]

Mildred Delores Jeter was born on July 22, 1939, in the remote rural community of Caroline County, Virginia, known as Central Point. She was born into a blended family that included several siblings and older stepsiblings, offspring of her father's first marriage. Her father, Theoliver Jeter, known primarily by his nickname Jake, was a farmer; her mother, Musiel Byrd, affectionately called Musie, was a stay-at-home mom. Earlier in the twentieth century, Caroline County was home to several successful industrial enterprises, among them a flour mill, a sumac extract mill, a lumber mill, and an aluminum mill. By the mid-1950s, however, the flour and sumac extract mills had closed. Farming brought very little profit, and the lumber and aluminum industries were on the decline. Consequently, many Caroline County residents, including a number of Mildred's relatives, relocated to urban centers such as the District of Columbia, Camden, New Jersey, and New York City to secure steady work. Mildred's immediate family resolved to remain in the county of their birth. Hence, a commitment to family and place was instilled in Mildred at a very early age.[2]

Similar to many in their community, Richard and Mildred's relationship began as a typical interracial moonlighting romance. When Mildred became pregnant, the couple decided to do what others had dared not attempt—get married. The couple claimed to have had no knowledge that interracial marriage was unlawful

in Virginia, yet they never attempted to marry in the commonwealth. Instead, they traveled to Washington, D.C., and married in a private ceremony on June 2, 1958. Mildred's father and older brother Otha were present as witnesses. The couple returned to Central Point to live with Mildred's parents. Five weeks later, they found themselves dragged out of bed by Caroline County law officials and arrested for committing the felony of miscegenation. Within twenty-four hours of the arrest, Richard was released from the county jail on bail. County authorities threatened that he would be forced to return to prison if he attempted to bail out Mildred. She therefore remained in prison an additional four days.[3]

One can only imagine the enormous fear Mildred Loving must have felt during her time of imprisonment. There she was, a black pregnant teenager in 1950s Jim Crow Virginia, jailed in an upstairs five-by-seven-foot rodent-infested cell and placed under the authority and scrutiny of the white racist judicial authority of Caroline County. It was evident from the timing of the marriage that the child Mildred was carrying was conceived out of wedlock. As a pregnant teen, though newly married, she bore the stigma of the hypersexualized black female, an image indelibly etched in the American psyche. Certainly, in the eyes of the white male authority that held her captive, Mildred represented the iconic black Jezebel who since the days of slavery used her licentiousness to corrupt the good morals of white men.[4]

The Jezebel, the foundation on which white American conceptualizations of black womanhood were built, has informed white perceptions of women of African descent since early explorers contrasted it with the myth of the ultravirtuous conception of white womanhood. Such myths were codified in the "cult of the southern lady" and the "cult of true womanhood," parallel nineteenth-century ideologies that reinforced a hierarchy among women based on race and class in order to maintain a white supremacist patriarchal agenda. Hence, the value in southern women was seen as the embodiment of unadulterated southern identity through white woman's role as submissive wife, caring mother, and guardian of the patriarchal social order and the southern ideal itself. "Such basic myths," according to Anne Goodwyn Jones, "polarized woman into . . . the clustering of images—goodness and light with virginity and evil and darkness with sexuality," which were "reified and confirmed when white planters owned black slave women." While the black female body was exploited as a ready resource for white male sexual gratification, the cult of the southern lady demanded that white women be the icon of female virtue and purity. This moral double standard prized white female fecundity as the reproducer of the legitimate heirs to southern white privilege; therefore, white female sexuality had to be protected at all cost. As W. J. Cash asserted, "For, as perpetuator of white superiority in legitimate line, and as a creature absolutely inaccessible to the males of the inferior group, she inevitably became the focal center of the fundamental pattern of proto-Dorian pride."[5]

Not only was Mildred's supposed sexual wantonness viewed as an affront to the sexual integrity of white Virginians, but the mixed-race child she carried thwarted the efforts of the state to maintain racial integrity. Mixed-race children were assigned the race of the nonwhite parent, despite their phenotype. Yet the salient worry for opponents of interracial intimacy was those children who bore the features of their white parent. Would Mildred's unborn child bear the light brown skin and semicoiled hair of his mother? If so, his racial identity would be forever established as colored within Virginia's racial binary. If, on the other hand, he bore the pink-tinged skin and spiked straight hair of his father, he could later in life choose to slip across the color line into the white race. Thus, within a southern Jim Crow worldview, Mildred was no mere criminal. She and subsequently her unborn son, whose birth she sought to legitimate by marrying Richard, posed the ultimate danger to white survival. She had undermined the social order of Virginia's racial hierarchy of which the state had been invested politically, financially, and indeed psychologically since the early seventeenth century.

Given Mildred's propensity to downplay the significance of the *Loving v. Virginia* decision, the question of whether she was fully cognizant of the enormity of her crime and of her status as a black female inmate in a southern county jail is not an unfair one. If Mildred was not fully cognizant of the enormity of her dilemma, her mother certainly was. As one informant stated, "Musie had a fit when they locked Mildred up. She kept saying 'They got Millie down there at the jail!' That woman cried so hard it was like a flood was running down her cheeks. The water just wouldn't stop coming." Mildred's loss of freedom was the least of Musie's worries. What probably caused her intense distress was the threat of violence, including sexual violence, that Mildred faced as a black female inmate. Historically, white men viewed black women as theirs for the taking. In their minds, there was no such thing as the rape of a black woman. Musie was well aware of the southern mentality that extolled the white southern lady on the one hand and denigrated the supposed innately promiscuous black woman on the other. Even if one could appeal to the higher morals of the jailer, who often spent the night at the prison, it was no secret that the evidence locker, "a tiny cubby hole underneath the stairs," which led up to the female cell where Mildred was held, was primarily used to stash jars of moonshine. A white male jailer, a jar of moonshine, and a young black female with no way to escape or legal recourse in the event of rape was a black woman's worst nightmare. Every day of Mildred's confinement placed her within the grasp of uncertain danger as sexual violence against black female inmates was pervasive in the South.[6]

While there is no evidence that Mildred suffered physical violence at the hands of the jailer or any other white male authority, she provided evidence that she was subjected to psychological abuse during her five-day ordeal. Richard during his short arrest was continuously rebuffed for choosing "that colored

gal" when there were so many pretty white women in Caroline County for him to marry. He was urged to forget about Mildred and marry one of his own kind. Mildred was also taunted by Sheriff Brooks, and others, who resorted to psychological terror as was typical of southern police officials. Mildred recalled that on one afternoon the sheriff returned to the jail with a male inmate who had been out on work release. The sheriff said to the inmate, "I should let you go in here with her tonight." Mildred said the statement "scared me to death."[7]

The couple's arrest was legally sanctioned by the Racial Integrity Act (RIA), which had been signed into law by Governor Elbert Lee Trinkle in 1924. The RIA became law during the growing momentum of the American eugenics movement, an attempt by racial purists to maintain racial hygiene by preventing racial contaminants (i.e., Negro "blood") from entering into the so-called white gene pool. Similar to the arguments used by later opponents of same-sex marriage, racial purists viewed interracial marriage as diametrically opposed to the laws of God and nature. The survival of traditional marriage and white humankind depended on its strict avoidance; those who violated its mandate were to be punished to the fullest extent of the law. Opponents of interracial marriage believed the RIA would halt the threat of racial suicide and preserve the integrity of the white race. Hence, interracial marriages of any kind that included a white partner were outlawed, and any such existing marriages were deemed null and void. Consequently, two separate warrants were issued for Richard Loving and Mildred Jeter under criminal dockets 928 and 929, respectively, along with an indictment that repeated the same charge: "Richard Loving, a white person and Mildred Jeter, a colored woman unlawfully and feloniously did go out of the state for the purpose of being married, and with the intention of returning to the State of Virginia, and were married outside of the State of Virginia, to-wit, in the District of Columbia . . . and afterwards returned to and resided in the County of Caroline, State of Virginia, cohabiting as man and wife, against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth."[8]

The Lovings had violated Virginia code section 20–54, which declared marriages between whites and blacks unlawful, and section 20–58, which made it unlawful to go out of state to marry and then return to cohabit as husband and wife. The couple initially pleaded not guilty, but during their January 1959 hearing before Judge Leon M. Bazile they changed their plea to guilty. Bazile suspended the couple's sentence provided that they immediately leave the state and not return together or at the same time to Caroline County for twenty-five years.

Immediately after sentencing, the Lovings moved to Washington, D.C., but they never adjusted to urban living. Mildred's cousin, with whom she and her family resided in the nation's capital, began to see the toll the couple's banishment was having on the family, particularly on Mildred, who complained constantly about their exile. She suggested that Mildred write to then attorney general Robert Kennedy about her family's dilemma. According to family

lore, Kennedy responded to Mildred's letter and urged her to write to the ACLU. There are no surviving records of that correspondence. On June 20, 1963, two months prior to the historic March on Washington, Mildred wrote to the ACLU for legal assistance. The raw boldness of this act cannot be overstated. Mildred and Richard were extremely shy and shrank from the idea of political activism. When their son Donald was hit by a car while playing in the street, Mildred overcame her shyness and decided to reach out for help. As fate would have it, her letter found its way into the hands of the right person: Bernard Cohen. Cohen at the time was doing pro bono work for the ACLU. His decision to pursue the case was underscored by his belief that the country had reached the historic moment to dismantle the last vestiges of the slavery laws. Cohen also believed the couple's last name, Loving, was more than coincidental, serving as metaphor for the changing attitudes of interracial intimacy in the United States.[9]

Cohen filed a motion in the Caroline County Circuit Court in November 1963 requesting that the Lovings' 1959 judgment be vacated and the sentence set aside. Unfortunately, Cohen had to argue his case before the same judge who had handed down the original decision. Judge Bazile delayed hearing the case for more than a year. In the meantime Philip J. Hirschkop signed on as cocounsel when he joined the Cohen firm in mid-1964. In January 1965 Bazile heard the arguments on behalf of the Lovings but denied the motion stating, "Almighty God created the races white, black, yellow, malay, and red, and he placed them on separate continents. And but for the interference with his arrangement, there would be no cause for such marriages. The fact that he separated the races showed that he did not intend for the races to mix." Cohen next appealed to the Virginia Supreme Court. On March 7, 1966, the court unanimously agreed to uphold the Lovings' conviction, which left Cohen and Hirschkop only one other option: the U.S. Supreme Court. This was not surprising as the two lawyers predicted early on that the case would eventually reach the doorstep of the high court. But would the nine justices take on the antimiscegenation issue? They had twice before deferred a ruling on the question of interracial marriage. Would *Loving v. Virginia* suffer the same fate?[10]

In 1955 the Supreme Court refused to hear the case *Naim v. Naim*. Ham Say Naim, a Chinese sailor, sought to overturn the Virginia Supreme Court's decision to uphold the annulment granted by the lower Virginia court to his white wife, Ruby Naim. Mrs. Naim accused her husband of adultery, but the annulment was granted on the basis of Virginia's antimiscegenation statute, which Mr. Naim claimed violated his Fourteenth Amendment rights. Some scholars have speculated that the justices' refusal to hear the case was due to timing as the case came too soon on the heels of the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, which declared segregation unconstitutional. In 1964, almost a decade after refusing to hear the Naim case, the Supreme Court agreed to hear *McLaughlin v. Florida*, which involved the arrest of a white woman and a black man for unlawful co-

habitation. The justices, though not overturning antimiscegenation laws, unanimously voted to overturn the couple's conviction, stating that the law cannot keep people from living together on the basis of race. The McLaughlin decision set the stage for *Loving v. Virginia*. By the time the Loving case reached the high court, seventeen states, all in the South, remained steadfast in their position against interracial marriage. The Supreme Court agreed to hear the Loving case on December 12, 1966. While the court's decision to hear the case was a victory for team Loving, the lawyers were faced with two dilemmas involving Mildred that threatened to undermine the case. First, there was the issue regarding Mildred's racial identity that threatened to thwart the legal team's court strategy. Second, there was a tightly held family secret, which if exposed would have caused the plaintiff considerable embarrassment and proved an insurmountable distraction to the case.[11]

Mildred at the time of her marriage to Richard, as confirmed on the couple's marriage license, did not identify herself as "Negro" but rather as American Indian. In fact, the couple's decision to marry in the District of Columbia was not only due to Virginia's antimiscegenation statute but also because Indian identity on state documents was restricted to those residing on the Pamukey and Mattaponi reservations in King William County. A 1930 amendment to the Racial Integrity Act imposed this restriction. Drafters of the original antimiscegenation bill, which later became law in 1924, defined a white person as anyone who possessed only Caucasian "blood." White Virginians of the elite class, who claimed to be descendants of the Indian princess Pocahontas and the English colonist John Rolfe, exerted their influence to have the definition revised to include those with no more than 1/16th of the blood of the American Indian, thus implementing what is now famously known as the Pocahontas Exception. This exception, however, caused what racial purity advocates dubbed a "breech in the dike" due to two landmark cases in which citizens challenged the Racial Integrity Act based on the assertion that they were of white-Indian only ancestry. Because the definition of racial purity, as it was defined by whites and later adopted by Virginia Indian communities, meant the absence of blackness, the defendants, Atha Sorrells of Amherst County and Ray Winn of Charles City County, convinced the courts that they were not in violation of Virginia's antimiscegenation statute when they attempted to marry or married white people. Determined to repair the breech, Virginia's vital statistics registrar and most ardent racial purity policeman, Dr. Walter Ashby Plecker, declared war on Virginia's Indian population. He implemented a policy that forbade any citizen in Virginia to use Indian as a racial classification on government documents and exerted his influence to secure the 1930 amendment that restricted the Indian classification to reservation Indians only. Numerous nonreservation citizens avoided the restriction by going to Washington, D.C., to obtain marriage licenses that identified them racially as Indian.[12]

Mildred Loving was no exception; her racial identity was informed by the deeply entrenched racial politics of her Central Point community. Central Point has been a haven of mixed-race alliances since colonial times, where pervasive interracial relations among black, white, and Indian inhabitants resulted in what some have interpreted as a racially benign community. However, the assumption that long-standing integrated relationships by day and moonlight interracial romances by night resulted in a colorblind community within the ultraracialized state of Virginia is misleading.[13]

To the contrary, Central Point residents were indeed cognizant of the racial hierarchy that granted social privilege to whites, an honorary white privilege to Indians (they were not subjected to Jim Crow laws), and no social privilege to blacks. Observations made by resident Marshall Wingfield in his 1924 history of Caroline County inadvertently demonstrated that the residents of Central Point were well aware of Virginia's racial mores and that by the time the state had passed the Racial Integrity Act, an identity steeped in a denial of Negro ancestry was well ingrained: "*It is said that the predominating blood in them is that of the Indian and white races*."[14]

Despite a known black presence, the residents of Central Point chimed in with other American Indian remnant communities in articulating an Indian-white only identity. Consequently, once out of their community, many simply passed for white. But not everyone in Central Point was light enough to pass for white; thus those with darker complexions attributed their pigmentation to American Indian ancestry. As historian Robert Pratt noted, "given the racial climate of the 1950s, some blacks thought it more socially acceptable to emphasize their Native American rather than their African ancestry."[15]

An American Indian identity based in a socially accepted denial of blackness clearly demonstrates that contrary to the idyllic representation of a harmonious racially benign society, Central Point was a microcosm of Virginia's established racial norms. Indeed, Mildred Loving's identity as an American Indian woman was informed by the socially accepted racial mores of the time. She did not see herself as black. She was Rappahannock Indian, an identity from which she never wavered. To the contrary, Mildred was conflicted about her identity as an African American woman. She was never shy about correcting those who dared to refer to her as Negro, black, or African American. Sometimes she denied black ancestry; whenever she acknowledged it, she always emphasized that she was a mix of Indian and black.[16]

Yet what did Mildred's Indian claim as inscribed on her marriage license mean for the Supreme Court case? In the letter Bernard Cohen received from her in 1963, Mildred identified herself as "part negro, part Indian." It is hard to believe that Cohen and subsequently Hirschkop were unaware, given their plaintiff's racial identity on the marriage license, that Mildred preferred to be identified as an American Indian rather than as a Negro. In a 2004 interview Cohen

was surprised to learn that his client had recently denied that she was black and had insisted that she was American Indian with some white ancestry. "That's news to me," he replied. He denied that there was ever any conflict regarding her racial identity during the 1960s ordeal. According to Cohen, Mildred had always "insisted that she was part Black and part American Indian." During a 2010 interview Hirschkop refused to respond directly to the same question but rather insisted that Mildred's racial identity was only relevant because according to Virginia law she was nonwhite and therefore could not marry a white person.[17]

Nonetheless, it appears that Mildred's racial identity indeed mattered during the court ordeal. It seems improbable that without provocation she would have to set the record straight about her racial identity. Perhaps while her lawyers insisted that she was black, Mildred Loving fought against the erasure of the Indian half of her identity. Yet the Indian aspect, so it seemed, would further complicate the case. How were Cohen and Hirschkop to present a case about the interracial marriage of a white-Indian couple that called for the dismantling of the last odious laws of slavery and segregation to a supreme court who saw these issues only in terms of black and white? Mildred's self-identity notwithstanding, to the lawyers it was a matter of strategy to present before the court the plain and simple truth of the case, which was that Richard Loving, a "white" man, and Mildred Jeter, a "Negro" woman, were forbidden the right to live in Virginia as husband and wife due to the state's antimiscegenation statute. While Mildred temporarily surrendered her American Indian identity for the sake of gaining justice for her family, her identity as an American Indian remained of central importance to her for the rest of her life. The centrality of her American Indian identity coupled with her periodic denials of blackness begs for a reconsideration of the fundamental premise of the Loving marriage. While many have celebrated the Loving decision as an endorsement of black-white interracial marriage, on closer inspection it appears that the Loving marriage may well serve as metaphor for the tenets of racial purity in which white-Indian social intimacy was acceptable but black-Indian social intimacy was not.

The tension that may have arisen between Mildred Loving and her legal team with respect to her racial identity was the least of their worries. The most pressing matter for team Loving was that the true paternity of the couple's oldest son, Sidney, remain hidden from the public. The Loving case initially garnered little to no attention outside of the couple's Central Point community. By 1964, as the couple's legal team began its pushback against the Virginia courts' decision to uphold the plaintiffs' 1959 conviction and subsequent banishment from the state, local and national media began to take notice of the case. The Supreme Court's decision to hear the case heightened awareness not only of the Lovings but also of Caroline County, which had not received attention of this magnitude since John Wilkes Booth was hunted down and executed in the county for the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln in 1865.

The Lovings' legal team took great care in putting forward a carefully constructed narrative that presented the Lovings as an all American family who had been banished from their home due to Virginia's proscription against interracial marriage. Accounts during the period never mentioned the circumstance surrounding the couple's decision to marry. On March 18, 1966, *Life* magazine published a featured story on the Loving case under the headline "The Crime of Being Married." According to the article, the Lovings had "stirred little fuss when the couple culminated a long and agonized courtship by traveling to Washington D.C. to get married in 1958." All accounts of the couple's courtship since this time have in myriad ways rehashed the narrative of a state's refusal to allow two childhood interracial sweethearts the right to marry. But once one considers the age difference between the two, the childhood sweetheart narrative appears improbable as the following 1992 *Los Angeles Times* account demonstrates: "When Mildred was eleven, seventeen year old Richard began to take notice of her. Richard first began visiting the family farmhouse to hear her seven brothers play what she called 'hillbilly' music, but soon he was coming to see Mildred. During the next few years they became friendly and eventually the relationship blossomed into romance."[18]

This narrative, which was quoted in a 2004 book on the Lovings, conjures up the origins of an endless romance between an older white teenage boy and a prepubescent black girl, without the slightest thought to its absurdity and impropriety, underscoring the myth of the hypersexualized black female that remains pervasive in contemporary American society. It also demonstrates what appears to be a desperate need to construct a linear narrative that closes off the possibility that either party may have had other suitors. Although the two had known each other for much of their lives, their romance did not begin until Mildred was at least seventeen years old. She was four months pregnant when the couple decided to wed in the summer of 1958.

Many have assumed incorrectly that at this time Mildred was pregnant with the oldest boy, Sidney. But Sidney was born on January 27, 1957, a year and a half before the couple's nuptials. Mildred in fact was pregnant with Donald, her second child, who arrived on October 8, 1958, slightly over five months to the day the couple married. The 1966 *Life* article that profiled the family listed the ages of the couple's three children as Sidney, 8; Donald, 7; and Peggy, 6; however, Sidney at the time was 9. With respect to his birthday, sometimes an incorrect birthdate of September 1, 1958, was used so as not to bring attention to the child's actual age. The revelation that the couple's oldest child had been conceived as early as March or April 1956, two years prior to the marriage, would have been a distraction that the Lovings' legal team could have easily handled. But what if the public learned that Richard was not Sidney's father, but that the child had been conceived with another man? Mildred stated in a 1994 interview, "I married the only man I ever loved." Indeed, Richard may well have been the

only man she had ever loved, but he was not the only man with whom she had ever had intimate relations.[19]

When the couple's romance began, Mildred had already given birth to Sidney, whom she had conceived when she was sixteen with a man who has only been identified as "a black fella who lived in the county." It is not known if Sidney knew who his biological father was; he certainly knew that it was not Richard. On his original Social Security application dated February 2, 1973, Sidney identified Richard as "stepfather." As was the tradition when a woman had a child out of wedlock, Sidney was given his mother's last name, which he retained throughout his life. His full name was Sidney Clay Jeter. As was also tradition, he was informally adopted by his grandparents, who raised him as though he were their son.[20]

When the Lovings moved to Washington, D.C., after their court-ordered banishment, Sidney remained in Caroline County with his grandparents. By 1965 the Lovings resolved to return to Virginia and fight their banishment. They rented a farmhouse in King and Queen County immediately adjacent to Caroline. Sidney made occasional visits to be with his mother, stepfather, and younger siblings during this time to participate in the family photos that were used for the Lovings' publicity campaign. There are far fewer images of Sidney with the couple than there are of the couple with Donald and Peggy. In addition, while there are several images that show Mildred's and Richard's affectionate interaction with the two younger children, such images do not appear in relation to Sidney.

Although the printed images produced the legal team's desired effect, recently recovered 16mm footage used in the 2011 HBO documentary *The Loving Story* demonstrates that Sidney's presence indeed created a tension for the family. *Life* noted the stark contrast between Sidney and his younger sibling, stating that "Peggy's features are pure white and Sidney's are heavily Negroid." Such an observation would seem benign as such contrast often occurs among mixed-race siblings of the same parentage; it nonetheless must have been cause for anxiety to those who knew the truth of the children's paternity. Hence, while the two younger children were allowed unlimited media exposure, Sidney's was limited as demonstrated in two documentary clips that can best be described as awkward. In the first instance, a bedroom door opened and the two younger children bound out of the room where Sidney can be seen. As they proceeded to join their parents, they are eagerly prompted to close the door, leaving Sidney alone in the room. In the second instance, Mildred appears visibly uneasy as Hope Ryden, a filmmaker from New York, interviews her with the children present in the living room. She nervously glanced at Sidney, who is standing at the couch with his back toward the camera. While the two younger children are visible, Sidney never turned to face the camera.[21]

Fortunately for the Lovings, the publicity campaign worked. Mildred's heavily guarded secret was never leaked to the press. One can only imagine the media

frenzy the couple would have suffered through had the circumstances of the Lovings' decision to marry and the truth of Sidney's paternity been revealed. Given the public's insatiable appetite for a sex scandal of any variety, the media would have been hard-pressed to ignore it. What effect would this have had on the public's perception of the couple, or more to the point, of Mildred? Certainly many would sympathize with one indiscretion that resulted in an out-of-wedlock pregnancy. The couple could not be faulted for that particularly since they had immediately done the honorable thing, for which they were now being unduly punished by the state. But the knowledge that the woman seeking justice had conceived not one but two children out of wedlock, and with two different men, may have potentially caused irreparable harm to her reputation. Would the couple have maintained public support? Would organizations such as the Catholic archdiocese and the NAACP have thought twice about submitting amicus briefs in support of the Loving case had this knowledge been revealed?

Certainly, with the case now in the hands of the nine justices, they would have had no choice but to move forward with a decision. It is doubtful that the knowledge of Sidney's paternity would have had any effect on the outcome of the high court's decision, but would we have a different view of the case had Mildred's secret been exposed? More to the point, what would be our perception of Mildred now? Would she still be the celebrated iconic civil rights heroine she is today? Or would she be relegated to historic oblivion, like the fifteen-year-old pregnant Claudette Colvin, who refused to give up her bus seat to a white man several years before Rosa Parks? While all of this remains cause for speculation, what is clear is that Mildred Loving was willing to move forward with her pursuit for justice despite the scrutiny the heightened media exposure could have brought to her personal reputation.[22]

On April 10, 1967, both sides presented their arguments to the Supreme Court. Cohen and Hirschkop argued that Virginia's antimiscegenation laws violated the Lovings' Fourteenth Amendment rights, which guaranteed due process and equal protection under the law. R. D. McIlwaine III, Virginia's assistant attorney general, argued on behalf of the commonwealth that the Fourteenth Amendment was beyond the reach of antimiscegenation statutes and that its framers had not intended for it to subvert the power of the state to forbid interracial marriage. Therefore, McIlwaine argued, Virginia's antimiscegenation statutes could not be overturned. Perhaps the best argument made before the court came from Richard Loving, who instructed the lawyers to "tell the court I love my wife and it is just not fair that I cannot live with her in Virginia." The justices unanimously agreed. On June 12, 1967, with less than 20 percent of Americans supporting interracial marriage, the high court overturned the Lovings' conviction and declared antimiscegenation laws unconstitutional, making it unlawful to deny citizens the right to marry solely on the basis of race.[23]

The feeling of relief and jubilation on the couple's face as Richard affectionately wrapped his arm around his wife's neck during an interview at their lawyers' office immediately after the verdict said it all. "I feel free now," Mildred exclaimed. Now that it was all over the couple was eager to get back to Caroline County, build the house Richard had always wanted to build for his family, and resume their lives out of the watchful gaze of the public. They turned down numerous invitations for interviews. Even the lawyers refused to speak publically about the case. Things for the Loving family quickly returned to normal, and the couple soon faded from public consciousness. Richard, a brick mason by trade, finished the house he had promised to Mildred, which was built on land his father had given him.[24]

With the exception of Mildred's father's death in 1968 and her mother's remarriage in 1973, little had changed for Mildred and her close-knit family. Work opportunities were still few in Caroline County, so Richard commuted to and from Washington, D.C., where work for a time was plentiful. In the summer of 1975 Richard was working in Charlottesville, Virginia. The children were in their late teens, so Mildred went to work in the nearby aluminum mill. Her younger brother Lewis, who had relocated to the District of Columbia, had bought a property in the Caroline County area with a plan to open a general store, which he had hoped Mildred would operate. It was a hot summer's day on June 28, 1975, when Lewis and Richard finished putting the doors on the soon-to-be general store. Once the work was done, Lewis returned to D.C. Richard, Mildred, and Mildred's older sister, Garnet Hill, went out for the evening. It was an evening that changed Mildred's life forever.[25]

Shortly after midnight on June 29, 1975, as the three were returning home from an evening event, a car skidded past a stop sign and collided with the Lovings' car. The driver, Floyd Emanuel Golden, who was intoxicated, emerged from the accident unharmed. Garnet, who occupied the back seat of the Lovings' vehicle, suffered only a few scratches. Mildred suffered severe facial lacerations and the loss of her right eye. Richard, who received the worst of the impact, was pronounced dead at the scene of the accident. Local and national newspapers reporting on Richard's death paid homage to a champion of civil rights and marriage equality. Yet the Supreme Court case was not mentioned during Richard's funeral, which was held on July 5, 1975. The Fredericksburg *Free Lance-Star* described the funeral as a "saga with a simple ending." Richard Loving was a man who was as "proud of his family as they were of him." Rather than be defined by the events that led to the historic 1967 decision, Richard and his wife Mildred, who remained hospitalized and was unable to attend her husband's funeral, defined their lives by "hard work, strong family ties and their own home." That is what truly mattered to Mildred and Richard Loving. Despite their willing participation in overturning antimiscegenation laws, it

was the lawyers who assumed the roles of "protester and social activists." They were merely ordinary people who found themselves caught at the crossroads of history.[26]

On November 15, 1975, Floyd Golden, the drunk driver who slammed into the Lovings' vehicle, was convicted of manslaughter and driving while intoxicated. Fortunately for Golden, those were the days before Mothers against Drunk Drivers and the stringent drunk-driving laws that resulted from the organization's activism. He pleaded guilty to both counts and received "a three year suspended prison term for the manslaughter count and was fined $800 dollars [*sic*]." With respect to driving under the influence, Golden received "a 30 day suspended jail sentence and his license was revoked for twelve months." The leniency of drunk-driving laws during this period notwithstanding, the punishment seemed hardly fitting for someone who had caused a woman the loss of an eye and the love of her life.[27]

Mildred continued to live in the house Richard built for her. She spent her days surrounded by friends and a large extended family. Much of her time was spent with her sister Garnet, who had become her closest companion. They spent hours talking, laughing, and crying together. Mildred lived on a fixed income of social security widow's benefits. She was probably unaware that her ability to receive those benefits as the widow of an interracial marriage was a direct result of the victory she had won less than a decade before. In the mid-1990s, with money low and the house in need of much repair, Mildred sold the rights to her story to a Hollywood producer. The Showtime movie *Mr. and Mrs. Loving* starring Timothy Hutton, Lela Rochon, and Ruby Dee was released in 1996. Mildred lent no credence to the Hollywood interpretation, stating, "Not much of it was very true. The only part of it right was that I had three children."[28]

By this time, Mildred's health was on the decline. She suffered from severe rheumatoid arthritis and was undergoing treatment for breast cancer. She survived her first round with breast cancer and her health began to improve. But the late 1990s brought Mildred much sorrow and grief. In 1995 her brother Theodore died; in 1997 her mother Musie and her sister Garnett died within five months of each other, in March and August, respectively. But perhaps the worst blow of all came with the new millennium when Donald, her second born, whose enlarged heart gave out while on his way home from work, died on August 31, 2000. The son for whom she had risked reimprisonment by moving back to Virginia, a blatant violation of her conviction, to protect him from urban dangers had been abruptly taken from her. She had grieved for a most beloved father, husband, brother, sister, and mother; she must now grieve for a most beloved son.[29]

In 2007, as the fortieth anniversary of the Loving decision approached, the cancer that Mildred had fought to overcome returned. That same year she granted what some have dubbed a rare interview to Dionne Walker, a reporter

for *USA Today*. In fact, all of Mildred's interviews were rare. The article appeared two days shy of the anniversary of the Supreme Court decision, on June 10, 2007. Despite the article's title "Pioneer of Interracial Marriage Looks Back," much of the article resembled the articles that had appeared for the twenty-fifth and thirtieth anniversaries of the Loving decision, repeating the same secondhand accounts with several quotes from Mildred sprinkled in. But two days later, a rare statement allegedly written by Mildred Loving was read before a gay rights advocacy group, transforming Mildred Loving from a pioneer of interracial marriage to a champion of same-sex marriage.[30]

During the fortieth-anniversary commemoration of *Loving v. Virginia* held in Washington, D.C., and hosted by gay advocacy groups Faith in America (FIA) and Freedom to Marry (FTM), a beautifully crafted statement allegedly obtained from Mildred Loving titled "Loving for All" was read before awe-inspired listeners gathered at the celebration. A few weeks prior to the commemorative gala, FIA members Brent Childers and Mitchell Gold, along with their paid consultant, Ashley Etienne, visited Mildred in hopes of persuading her to attend the commemoration and to give a statement in support of same-sex marriage. Mildred turned down the invitation to come to D.C. and voiced her reluctance to openly endorse gay marriage. She told the trio that she had not given the subject much thought and was not sure how she felt about it. After several hours of conversation, the trio left without the endorsement they had hoped to receive; however, Mildred agreed to further the conversation via telephone with Etienne. Over the next three weeks Mildred received a call from the consultant every few days to discuss the matter.[31]

With very little time left before the commemorative event, Etienne asked Mildred if she would allow her to compose a statement for the civil rights heroine to peruse and see how she felt about it. With input from members of FIA and FTM, Etienne composed the statement and presented the document to Mildred for her approval. According to Etienne, the only issue Mildred raised about the document was that she had been identified as an African American. She was adamant that she was "Negro and Indian. Yes, she used the 'Negro' word." Mildred gave Etienne her consent that the statement could be read during the commemoration, but she was emphatic that it was to be used for that occasion only. She did not want it published or forwarded to the media.[32]

Mildred's wishes were not honored. Not long after the commemoration, FTM published the document on their website with the byline "by Mildred Loving." The published document stated her racial identity as "a woman of color." The news of Mildred's endorsement of same-sex marriage quickly spread throughout the blogosphere and received attention in various news outlets, including the *New York Times*. On April 13, 2009, actress Phyllis Newman, prior to reading the statement on marriage equality at the Broadway for a New America Concert, stated, "This is important what I am going to read because it was written by Mil-

dred Loving. . . . These are her words." No, "these" were not the words of Mildred Loving but of a paid consultant commissioned to obtain an endorsement from the famed *Loving v. Virginia* plaintiff by any means necessary. Considering the means by which the statement was obtained and Mildred's instructions that the statement be limited to an exclusive audience, one must question whether the sentiments behind the statement were truly those of Mildred Loving.[33]

On May 2, 2008, Mildred lost her second battle with breast cancer. She succumbed peacefully surrounded by family and close friends in the house Richard had built for her. While local, national and international newspapers paid homage to her as a civil rights pioneer, her funeral, held on May 9, 2008, could best be described as a déjà vu moment that mirrored her husband's funeral thirty-three years earlier. While the crowd that gathered was much larger, filling up the Caroline County Community Center (formerly Union High School, which Mildred attended), the gatherers, much like at Richard's funeral, were predominantly black with only a handful of whites in attendance. There was no mention of the Supreme Court decision during the service. Mildred was eulogized as an ordinary woman with an unwavering commitment to her late husband, her children, her church, and her community.[34]

There was little else said about her at the funeral and not much more written about her in the program obituary given to funeral attendees. The funeral obituary contained the usual information, noting date of birth and death, parentage, school and church attendance, marriage and children, those who preceded her in death, and an endless list of family members and friends left to cherish her memory. The only achievement noted was a human rights award she had received from the ACLU in 1992. The scene was indeed an echo from three decades past, a saga with a simple ending. For one whose uncompromising courage had done so much to change a nation, such simplicity would seem so unfair. Yet it is the simple things in life that Mildred most cherished. No doubt, this was precisely the way she would have wanted it. Perhaps it is our error to have wanted it any other way. Mildred Loving deserves to be remembered and honored not for who we want her to be but for the person she truly was: an ordinary woman whose extraordinary life touched millions.[35]

NOTES

Portions of this chapter are based on my previous writings on *Loving v. Virginia*. See "Tell the Court I Love My [Indian] Wife: Interrogating Race and Self Identity in Loving V. Virginia," *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture and Society* 8, no. 1 (2006): 67–80; "Beyond Black and White: Afro-Indian Identity and the Case of *Loving v. Virginia*," in Arica L. Coleman, *That the Blood Stay Pure: African Americans, Native Americans and the Predicament of Race and Identity in Virginia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013).

1. Dionne Walker, "Pioneer of Interracial Marriage Looks Back," *USA Today*, June 10, 2007, http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/nation/2007-06-10-loving_N.htm (accessed September 12, 2015).

2. According to his birth certificate, Theoliver (Jake) was born on November 9, 1884, in Caroline County to Samuel and Susan Jeter. Subsequent documents list his birthdate as November 12, 1884.

According to his World War I draft record, his first wife was Daisy (Richardson) Jeter, with whom he had several children. Some of these offspring (James, George, and Richard) appear as members of the Jake-Musie household on the 1940 census. Mildred's siblings were Theodore, Otha (living), Susie Garnett, and Lewis (living). Birth and death records for Theoliver were obtained from the Virginia Department of Health and draft and census records obtained via Ancestry.com. According to her 1973 marriage license, Musie or Musiel was born on March 5, 1911, to Susie Byrd and Linwood Jeter; for additional information on early Caroline County industry, see Marshall Wingfield, *History of Caroline County* (Westminster, Md.: Heritage Books), 2006.

3. Simeon Booker, "The Couple That Rocked Courts," *Ebony*, September 1967, 80; Phyl Newbeck, *Virginia Wasn't Always for Lovers* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004), 12. Miscegenation, defined as the blending of races, was a term coined in 1864. For more on the history of the term, see Sidney Kaplan, "The Miscegenation Issue in the Election of 1864," *Journal of Negro History* 34 (July 1949): 274–343.

4. Newbeck, *Virginia Wasn't Always for Lovers*, 13.

5. Adele Logan Alexander, "She's No Lady, She's a Nigger: Abuses, Stereotypes, and Realities from the Middle Passage to Capitol (and Anita) Hill," in Anita Faye Hill and Emma Coleman Jordan, eds., *Race, Gender, and Power in America: The Legacy of the Hill-Thompson Hearings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 3–25; Anne Goodwyn Jones, "Belles and Ladies," in Charles Reagan Wilson and William Ferris, eds., *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 1528–29; W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York: Vintage, 1941), 84.

6. Anonymous resident of Caroline County, interview by author, Bowling Green, Virginia, September 3, 2012. I have concealed the names of county residents because they agreed to speak with me on condition of anonymity. Newbeck, *Virginia Wasn't Always for Lovers*, 13. For details on black women's southern jail experiences, see Danielle L. McGuire, *At the Dark End of the Street: Black Women, Rape and Resistance—a New History of the Civil Rights Movement from Rosa Parks to the Rise of Black Power* (New York: Vintage, 2010), 192–201.

7. Anonymous resident of Caroline County, interview by author, Bowling Green, Virginia, September 3, 2012. *The Loving Story*, directed by Nancy Buirski, HBO, February 14, 2011.

8. Arrest warrant for Richard Perry Loving; arrest warrant for Mildred Delores Jeter (July 11, 1958); Grand Jury Indictment (January 6, 1959), *Loving v. Virginia* Papers, Central Rappahannock Heritage Center, Fredericksburg, Virginia. For more on the Racial Integrity Act, see Coleman, *That the Blood Stay Pure*, chapter 3.

9. *Loving Story*.

10. Judge Leon M. Bazile, *Commonwealth vs. Richard Perry Loving and Mildred Delores Jeter* (January 1965), Loving v. Virginia Papers. For an analysis of Bazile's statement, see Fay Botham, *Almighty God Created the Races: Christianity, Interracial Marriage, and American Law* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 2009, 159–65.

11. Peter Wallenstein, "Interracial Marriage on Trial: Loving v. Virginia," in Annette Gordon-Reed, ed., *Race on Trial: Law and Justice in American History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 180, 183.

12. Marriage license obtained from the Superior Court of the District of Columbia; all of Mildred's children racially identified as Indian on their marriage licenses. Atha Sorrells and Ray Winn successfully challenged the Racial Integrity Act; for more on these cases, see Coleman, *That the Blood Stay Pure*, chapter 3.

13. Booker, "Couple That Rocked Courts," 82.

14. Wingfield, *History of Caroline County Virginia*, 170, italics added.

15. Robert Pratt, "Crossing the Color Line: A Historical Assessment and Personal Narrative of Loving v. Virginia," *Howard Law Journal* 41 (1998): 235.

16. During my 2004 interview with Mildred Loving, she denied having any black ancestry. Prior to that time, for almost thirty years, she identified as part Indian and part black. For more on Mildred Loving's shifting racial identity, see Coleman, *That the Blood Stay Pure*, chapter 5.

17. Bernard Cohen of Alexandria, Virginia, telephone interview by author, March 6, 2005; Philip Hirschkop of Alexandria, Virginia, telephone interview by author, July 11, 2011.

18. "The Crime of Being Married: A Virginia Couple Fights to Overturn an Old Law against Miscegenation," *Life*, March 18, 1966, 85; quoted in Newbeck, *Virginia Hasn't Always Been for Lovers*, 10.

19. Sidney's original social security application, obituary, and grave marker identify his birthdate as January 27, 1957; quoted in Pratt, "Crossing the Color Line," 244.

20. Anonymous residents of Caroline County, interviews by author, Bowling Green, Virginia, June–September 2012; original social security application for Sidney C. Jeter obtained from the Social Security Administration, Baltimore, Maryland.

21. Anonymous residents of Caroline County, interviews by author, Bowling Green, Virginia, June–September 2012; "Crime of Being Married," 86; *Loving Story*.

22. For more on Claudette Colvin, see Vicki L. Crawford et al., eds., *Women of the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941–1965* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990).

23. A 1968 Gallup poll showed that only 20 percent of Americans supported interracial marriage while 73 percent were opposed. The poll numbers did not reflect majority favorability until 1997. In March 1967, in anticipation of the Supreme Court decision, Maryland repealed its antimiscegenation law, which had taken effect on June 1, 1967. Sixteen states, however, including Virginia, maintained their stance against interracial marriage. The other fifteen states were Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia. On November 7, 2000, by a vote of 60 to 40 percent, Alabama became the last state in the Union to strike antimiscegenation language from its constitution.

24. "Saga with a Simple Ending," *Free Lance-Star*, July 5, 1975, 1.

25. Lewis Jeter of Clinton, Maryland, interview by author, September 11, 2012; Mildred's father, Theoliver Jeter, died on October 14, 1968. Her mother, Musie Jeter, married Stanley O. Parker on April 7, 1973.

26. "Crash Kills Richard Loving; Won Case on Interracial Marriage," *Free Lance-Star*, June 30, 1975, 23; "Saga with a Simple Ending," 1, 3.

27. "Man Is Convicted of Accident Death," *Free Lance-Star*, November 15, 1975, 9.

28. Walker, "Pioneer of Interracial Marriage Looks Back."

29. Lewis Jeter of Clinton, Maryland, telephone interview by author, September 11, 2012; family deaths were confirmed by newspaper obituaries and grave markers at the Saint Stephen's Cemetery in Central Point, Caroline County.

30. Walker, "Pioneer of Interracial Marriage Looks Back."

31. Susan Dominus, "The Color of Love," *New York Times*, December 23, 2008.

32. Brent Childers, telephone interview by author, Cajah's Mountain, North Carolina, October 2, 2012, and Ashley Etienne, telephone interview by author, Washington, D.C., October 2, 2012.

33. "Loving for All," Freedom to Marry, http://www.freedomtomarry.org/page/-/files/pdfs/mildred_loving-statement.pdf (accessed December 23, 2015).

34. Anonymous resident of Caroline County, interview by author, Bowling Green, Virginia, June 10, 2012; Lewis Jeter, interview by author, September 11, 2012. Jeter confirmed that Mildred died of cancer and not pneumonia as had been reported to the press. Peter Wallenstein, "Mildred's Funeral" (personal correspondence, October 2, 2012); for more on Mildred's funeral and the Loving case see Peter Wallenstein, *Sex, Race, and the Freedom to Marry: Loving v. Virginia* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2014). Sidney Jeter died of cancer on May 5, 2010.

35. Mildred Loving funeral program obituary, Cedell Brooks Funeral Home, http://obit.brooksfuneralhome.com/obitdisplay.html?id=586219&clientid=brooksfuneralhome&listing=Found (accessed August 15, 2012).

Dorothy McDiarmid and Mary Marshall

Champions of Change in the Virginia General Assembly

SANDRA GIOIA TREADWAY

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Dorothy McDiarmid and Mary Marshall were not the first women ever to serve in the Virginia General Assembly, but they were the first to hold their seats for more than twenty years and to acquire significant seniority and influence in the state's legislative body. Both had entered politics after becoming involved in efforts to keep their local public schools open during the school desegregation crisis of the 1950s and 1960s. Interested in strengthening education and other government services for all citizens, they saw that progress at the local level required altering laws and policies rooted in the state's agricultural past to reflect Virginia's social, economic, and demographic change in the second half of the twentieth century. Committed to modernizing Virginia, they quickly became aware of the special challenges they faced as women in an overwhelmingly male legislature. Before they could accomplish anything, they had to fight for acceptance from male colleagues unaccustomed to viewing women as equals.

McDiarmid and Marshall also discovered that most members of the General Assembly were insensitive or hostile to issues that directly affected the legal and economic status of women. Championing legislation to improve women's lives became one of their most important causes. They both loved people and politics, and over time they mastered the legislative process and used it expertly to advance their interests. The General Assembly was a different place when they left office than it had been when they began their careers. Although the commonwealth still had a long way to go with the economic and social issues McDiarmid and Marshall cared about, the example they set and the battles they won demonstrated beyond any doubt that women could be as effective as men in managing Virginia's public affairs.

DOROTHY MCDIARMID

McDiarmid served in the House of Delegates from 1960 through 1989. By the time of her retirement, she had become one of the most influential members of the legislature and served as chairman of the powerful House Appropriations Committee.

Courtesy of the Library of Virginia.

MARY MARSHALL

Serving in the House of Delegates from 1966 through 1991, Marshall was the driving force behind the Women's Roundtable, a coalition of women legislators, lobbyists, and women's organizations who met regularly during General Assembly sessions to share information and support legislation that improved women's lives.
Courtesy of the Library of Virginia.

Virginia women had won the right to vote and to hold elected office when the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was ratified in August 1920. Women's suffrage became the law of the land over the fierce objections of Virginia's conservative political establishment, which had steadfastly resisted efforts to extend the franchise to women. Disappointed by the obstinacy of the state's male leaders, Virginia suffragists embraced the opportunity that the federal amendment provided. The Virginia Equal Suffrage League, which had campaigned vigorously for the vote for more than a decade, mobilized quickly to assist women in registering in advance of the November 1920 election. After the election, the suffrage league disbanded and reconstituted itself as the Virginia League of Women Voters. The new league focused on educating women about the workings of government and the responsibilities they now had as full citizens. At the time, membership in the Virginia League of Women Voters was not open to African American women. A separate Virginia Negro Women's League of Voters was formed, with community leader Ora Brown Stokes serving as president.[1]

Running for public office was not the first priority for Virginia women following passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. Instead, they channeled their energies into lobbying state and local government on behalf of the education, social welfare, and reform priorities for which they had advocated for years with little success. Working through voluntary associations, clubs, and statewide organizations such as the Virginia Federation of Women's Clubs—but now armed with the vote—Virginia women found elected officials much more willing to listen, at least in the short run. By 1922 many of the same state legislators who had rejected women's suffrage just a few years earlier lent their support to nearly two dozen new bills proposed as a direct result of pressure from women's groups.[2]

A few intrepid women successfully sought public office in the 1920s and 1930s. In 1924 Sarah Lee Fain, of Norfolk, and Helen Timmons Henderson, of Buchanan County, took their seats as the first women elected to the Virginia General Assembly. During the next decade, four others, all from small rural communities, served one or more terms in the House of Delegates. Four women served at the same time in the 1928–29 assembly session, but none of the four stood for reelection; by 1930 the Virginia General Assembly had only one female member. After Emma Stone White stepped down in 1933, there would not be another woman in the General Assembly again for twenty-one years. These early women legislators took their legislative responsibilities seriously. They made it clear that they came to Richmond to represent the interests of their constituents. They played down the historic aspects of their office holding, never identified themselves with women's issues, and did not seek to advance a shared agenda. Conscientious and capable, they served their districts well but left no lasting legacy. The conservative old-boy political culture and power structure of the statehouse remained fundamentally unchanged.[3]

During the 1930s and 1940s white women's organizations continued to press the state's political leaders to ameliorate the social and economic problems exacerbated by the Great Depression and to eliminate unjust practices such as the poll tax, which kept large numbers of African American women (and men) from voting. But despite vigorous lobbying efforts, they made little headway against Virginia's oligarchic political culture. By the early 1950s many women began to realize that they might have greater influence if they served in public office themselves. Several with experience in civic and political organizations in their communities ran successfully for seats on their town councils, and a few others stepped forward to stand for election to the General Assembly.[4]

Well educated and residing (with a few exceptions) in the state's rapidly growing urban areas, this second wave of General Assembly candidates differed in significant ways from their predecessors. Most were not native Virginians, and they brought to Virginia politics perspectives nurtured in other parts of the country. Almost all became politically active through their interest in public education, and several decided to run for a seat in the assembly when Virginia's defiant response to the Supreme Court's landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision threatened closure of the state's public schools. They were willing to acknowledge openly that as women they had a point of view on policy issues that had been ignored by the state's male leaders, and they were committed to having their voices heard. Dorothy Shoemaker McDiarmid and Mary Rice Marshall were at the forefront of this group.[5]

Dorothy Shoemaker McDiarmid was born on October 22, 1906, in Waco, Texas, where her father, Daniel Naylor Shoemaker, an employee of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, was temporarily assigned. Her parents were not native Virginians, but she always proudly reminded friends and acquaintances that members of her family had lived in northern Virginia since the early eighteenth century. Raised in and around Washington, D.C., she remembered as a young child standing on a city sidewalk to watch a women's suffrage parade in which her mother, Frances Hartley Shoemaker, was marching. She credited the impact of that event and her mother's belief in women's rights for her own lifelong commitment to "make things better for women." She graduated from Swarthmore College in 1929 with a degree in political science and taught school until her marriage to Norman Hugh McDiarmid, whom she had met at Swarthmore. In 1939 the couple purchased Meadowlark Farm in Fairfax County, where they later moved and raised two children and founded McDiarmid Associates, a real estate development and investment firm.[6]

A staunch believer in public education, McDiarmid was active in the local and state parent teacher associations (PTA). When Virginia threatened to close its public schools rather than comply with the 1954 *Brown* decision mandating integration, she helped found the Virginia Committee for Public Schools, a coalition of white moderates dedicated to preserving a statewide system of

public education in accord with the Supreme Court ruling. Her passion to keep Virginia's public schools open prompted her to run in 1959 for one of two assembly seats representing the Fairfax–Falls Church district. With the support of popular incumbent delegate John C. Webb, with whom she campaigned, she won handily. When she arrived in Richmond in January 1960, McDiarmid joined Kathryn Stone, of Arlington, who had served in the assembly since 1954, and Charlotte Giesen, of Radford, elected in 1957, as the only females in the 140-member legislature.[7]

The *Washington Post* took note of McDiarmid's arrival in Richmond with a photo and caption that read "Now There Are Three," but otherwise the media paid little attention to the freshman delegate. McDiarmid threw herself into legislative work with enthusiasm, sponsoring or cosponsoring several bills that spoke directly to her constituents' interests. She worked especially hard for legislation to assist Fairfax County in coping with the financial pressures of rapid population growth and urban development. While several of her initiatives were successful, she also supported bills that proposed raising the minimum wage, outlawing capital punishment, and modernizing the state's taxation system, none of which gained serious traction. McDiarmid found assembly service "utterly fascinating," but she was concerned about the "wide divergence of political philosophy between urban and rural areas as to needs for improved education, health, welfare, and general public services essential to a growing and dynamic Commonwealth." In replying to numerous constituents who wrote advocating increased state funding for education and social services, she indicated her support but reported that "unfortunately, there does not at this time appear to be a unanimity of agreement within the General Assembly as to the necessity for increasing appropriations." She was not discouraged, however, preferring to take the long view. "We often make haste slowly," she observed, "but with others of like persuasion and conviction I hope to be able in some small measure to accelerate Virginia's progress."[8]

McDiarmid again ran a joint campaign with Webb when she stood for reelection in 1961. In a series of fact sheets mailed to their Fairfax constituents, McDiarmid and Webb highlighted their accomplishments during the 1960 session and outlined their ambitious agenda for the coming year, including a state redistricting plan that would reflect the population increases in northern Virginia and the Hampton Roads area, a revamped state tax structure, abolition of the poll tax, construction of a new facility to treat the mentally ill in the northern part of the state, and continued improvement of the state's public schools and roads. Fairfax Republicans mounted a spirited offense against the two incumbents, and while Webb won his race by a small margin, McDiarmid lost to a Republican challenger, leaving Kathryn Stone as the only female legislator in the 1962 assembly. With strong encouragement from the Democratic leadership in her district, McDiarmid ran again in 1963 and received the third highest vote

total among all the candidates. Since Fairfax now had gained a third assembly seat after redistricting in 1962, she was elected—joining Stone and newcomer Marion Galland of Alexandria as the third female in the assembly.[9]

During the 1964 assembly session, Stone, McDiarmid, and Galland introduced a joint resolution calling for the establishment of a Virginia Commission on the Status of Women. President John F. Kennedy had created a Presidential Commission on the Status of Women in 1961, which issued a report in October 1963 revealing deep-seated inequities facing women in the workplace and in American society at large. Many states had responded to the report's findings by establishing their own commissions to explore the role of state government in addressing these problems. Stone, McDiarmid, and Galland's resolution never made it out of committee, but with the backing of more than thirty women's organizations, Stone was able to persuade Governor Albertis Harrison to use his executive authority to establish the Virginia Commission on the Status of Women in February 1965. Operating without a state appropriation, the nineteen-member commission drew on the volunteer expertise of educators, doctors, lawyers, administrators, social workers, and other professionals to compile a report that contained scores of specific recommendations but also called for more study and the creation of a permanent commission. It would take five more years before the General Assembly established and funded a standing commission. By that time, Kathryn Stone was no longer a member of the assembly. In the spring of 1965 she announced that she would not seek a seventh term in the House of Delegates.[10]

In announcing her retirement, Stone issued a statement warning Virginia women that their voices were being ignored in Richmond. She advised women to look beyond the words of the candidates seeking their votes to see how their representatives had actually voted on issues and urged women voters to be aware of what she termed "superficial chivalry." When Stone stepped down, she noted that the General Assembly had begun to be more receptive to modernization but predicted that it would take another decade to achieve a significant shift in thinking. She hoped that other women would join the legislative ranks and stay long enough to carry change forward. Stone must have been pleased when Mary Rice Marshall won one of the four assembly seats from Arlington.[11]

Marshall was born in Cook County, Illinois, on June 14, 1921. The daughter of John Andrew Rice, a progressive educator and the founder of Black Mountain College in North Carolina, and Nell Aydelotte Rice, Marshall had lived in many different places as a child as her father moved from one faculty position to another in Nebraska, New Jersey, England, and Florida before settling in North Carolina in 1933. Marshall earned her bachelor's degree in political science at Swarthmore College, where her uncle Frank Aydelotte served as president from 1921 to 1939. After graduation, she worked in Washington, D.C., for the Alien Property Office and then for the U.S. Department of Justice. There she met and

married Roger D. Marshall, an electronics specialist. In 1953 she moved with her husband and their three young daughters to Arlington, where she became active in the League of Women Voters. In 1958 she joined the campaign staff of Joseph H. Freehill, who was running for Congress in Virginia's Tenth District. Although Freehill lost the election, Marshall enjoyed the campaign experience so much that she continued to work for the Democratic Party, serving on the party's executive committee in Arlington and eventually becoming its first female chair. Like Dorothy McDiarmid, she was actively involved in the movement to keep her local public schools open during the period of massive resistance. Reflecting on this stage of her life, Marshall later said that she had become bored as a housewife and wanted a worthwhile hobby. Marshall remained devoted to the "hobby" of politics for the rest of her life.[12]

In responding to a League of Women Voters questionnaire during her first campaign for the House of Delegates, Marshall identified her interests as the environment, mental health, education at all levels, repeal of the poll tax, establishment of a minimum wage, and increased services for youth, especially job training and placement. She expressed optimism about what she might accomplish in Richmond and told Arlington voters that "this is the beginning of a new era of progress in Virginia, an era of more and better education, increased economic opportunity for our citizens, greater compassion for the elderly, ill, and unfortunate, and greater participation in government by our citizens. I want to be part of this new era."[13]

Marshall and McDiarmid were natural allies. Acquainted long before Marshall's election through their involvement in several causes of mutual interest in northern Virginia, they had worked together on the Committee for Fair Representation, which helped bring about the reapportionment of General Assembly seats that increased northern Virginia's combined delegation from twelve to eighteen members. They shared a strong interest in improving the educational, health, and welfare services available to Virginians, especially the elderly and at-risk youth, and were committed to eliminating Virginia's long-standing "pay-as-you-go" fiscal policy in order to provide adequate funding for these state services. "We cannot tell the people of Virginia that there is not enough money for necessary capital expenditures," Marshall asserted in a report to her constituents in May 1967, "without giving them a chance to decide whether they want to build better schools, roads, hospitals and colleges by borrowing." Marshall and McDiarmid also shared a frustration that Virginia's legislature met for only sixty days every other year, which meant that legislators did not have sufficient time to address all the issues that came before them and a bill carried over to the next session had to wait two years for reconsideration.[14]

Marshall and McDiarmid may have been drawn together at first because of their common interest in addressing the needs of the northern region of the state and their commitment to improving state services, but they were also aware that they had important roles to play as women in the state legislature.

One reason that Marshall decided to run for an assembly seat was because Kathryn Stone announced her retirement, and she felt it was critical for the Arlington delegation to continue to have a woman member. Handwritten notes scribbled by McDiarmid sometime in 1966 or 1967 under the heading "Woman's Place in the Gen'l Ass[embly]" reveal that she spent time reflecting on the perspectives of the six women who had served in the General Assembly since 1954 and the issues and initiatives they supported. Among the thoughts she recorded were notes on the personalities of the other women legislators. She described Charlotte Giesen, known to friends as Pinkey, as "everyone's favorite aunt." Marion Galland was a "petite dynamo," while Mary Marshall had "brains with humor."[15]

Though they agreed on most issues, Marshall and McDiarmid had different personal styles. McDiarmid was soft-spoken, gracious, and dignified in appearance, everything a southern lady was expected to be. When she spoke in committee meetings and on the House floor, she was concise, diplomatic, and quietly persuasive. She was amused that her small stature and genteel demeanor caused many male colleagues to underestimate her underlying resolve in advocating issues that mattered to her. Marshall was more loquacious by nature and loved to use her wit and sense of humor to win over an audience. McDiarmid admired Marshall's ability to think on her feet and felt that her style "enhanced the image of all the women delegates."[16]

McDiarmid and Marshall each spent their first few terms in the assembly concentrating on the issues that mattered most to them and on learning the ropes of the legislative body. They were aware that as women they were among an extremely small minority and that many of their male colleagues, while polite, were wary of their presence and unwilling to admit them to the inner circles of party politics. Sexist attitudes were then common not only in the General Assembly but in American society at large, and McDiarmid and Marshall were careful during their first few years in the assembly not to wear their feminism on their sleeves. When an opportunity presented itself to stand up for their principles, however, they made the most of it.[17]

In the mid-1960s, not knowing quite what to do with McDiarmid, Marshall, and Galland, Speaker of the House E. Blackburn "Blackie" Moore assigned them to the House Education Committee. He probably assumed "we'd be interested in PTAs and children," Marshall later recalled, "little dreaming, I'm sure, that we would use that committee to push for radical things." Working together, the women on the committee won approval for state-supported kindergartens in public schools, mandatory school attendance laws, and free textbook legislation. "Such things were thought 'radical,'" Marshall explained, "because, in 1966, Virginia was still very much influenced by the days of massive resistance where limiting access to public education was a tenet of that movement."[18]

In 1968 the General Assembly created a commission to update Virginia's constitution to bring it into line with federal civil rights legislation and loosen restrictions on state-issued bonds and borrowing. When the Commission on

Constitutional Revision reported its recommendations to the General Assembly the following year, McDiarmid noticed that section 11 of the document's proposed bill of rights contained language prohibiting state government from discriminating on the basis of religion, race, color, and national origin, but not sex. When asked about this, the revisors claimed that it was an inadvertent omission and they had meant to include the word. The "charming lady members of the General Assembly caught this fact," Hampton senator Hunter Andrews reported during the Senate debates on the proposed constitutional changes, and an amendment to add the word "sex" to the antidiscrimination clause was introduced in both the House and Senate. Speaking on behalf of the amendment, McDiarmid argued for the importance of having this protection in the Virginia constitution since it did not exist at the national level. Some legislators fiercely opposed this change and were only mollified when the assembly clarified its definition of sexual discrimination, stating that mere separation of the sexes (such as in public restrooms) would not be considered discrimination. With that qualification, both houses voted to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex in the new state constitution adopted in 1971.[19]

Marshall and McDiarmid lost their reelection campaigns in November 1969 in the midst of a statewide political upheaval. The powerful Byrd Machine, which had controlled Virginia's Democratic Party and state politics since the 1920s, crumbled in the aftermath of massive resistance. Republicans made significant gains that year and won almost all of the legislative seats in northern Virginia. Several months after her defeat, Marshall was elected president of the Virginia Association for Mental Health, and she spent the next two years advocating for the establishment of community mental health centers across the state. McDiarmid set her sights on national office, and in 1970 she ran in the Democratic primary in the Eighth Congressional District, hoping to stand in the general election for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. She came second in the primary, however, and her bid to be the first Virginia woman to serve in Congress ended. Both Marshall and McDiarmid were determined to return to the General Assembly, though, and in 1971 they were each successful in defeating their Republican opponents. When the General Assembly gathered again on January 12, 1972, they rejoined their former colleagues in the House chamber.[20]

Several months after their return to the legislature, the Virginia Commission on the Status of Women held a Congress of Women's Organizations. Marshall, McDiarmid, and representatives from more than fifty women's organizations participated. Among the topics on the agenda was the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), which the National Organization for Women and others had made their top legislative priority. The ERA, which prohibited any state from denying equal rights to citizens on account of their sex, had passed both the U.S. House and the Senate in March 1972 and had been sent to the states for ratification.

Most delegates to the Congress of Women's Organizations endorsed the ERA, and McDiarmid agreed to introduce a resolution calling for the amendment's ratification in the 1973 assembly session. Despite the strong support of McDiarmid, Marshall, and several of the other women delegates, the resolution and ratification bill died in committee. McDiarmid would continue to propose adoption of the ERA in every session of the General Assembly for the next decade but without success. Virginia refused to ratify the amendment, and although the deadline was extended until 1982, the ERA died, three states short of the thirty-eight needed for ratification.[21]

During the 1970s the number of women in the Virginia General Assembly slowly began to rise. From the mid-1960s through the early 1970s there were four women delegates. That number grew to six by 1974, seven by 1976, and nine by 1978. Observers took note but at first did not believe that the increase would make much difference. "Gender," Katherine Calos of the *Richmond News-Leader* observed at the start of the 1976 assembly session, "is about the only thing that the seven women have in common. They are divided in political parties and philosophies, legislative interests and even in the way they manage home responsibilities when the assembly is in session." McDiarmid and Marshall would not have been surprised by the mention of their personal lives, as reporters had been asking them how they managed to run their households and care for their families while holding a demanding public position ever since their first entrance into politics—questions that were never posed to their male colleagues. Rather than fight the stereotype, Mary Marshall over time had learned to use it to her advantage. She often referred to herself as a "blue-eyed, curly haired, mental-health-loving mother of three." She confided to a reporter, "Saying you're a 'mere housewife' is the equivalent of calling yourself a 'simple country lawyer.' It's a non-threatening phrase that may, or may not, indicate you know what's going on." On more than one occasion, opponents of controversial measures she supported underestimated the ability of this mere Arlington housewife.[22]

The women who joined the General Assembly in the 1970s came from different parts of the state. Most had not known each other before, and they did not present a united front on the Equal Rights Amendment, the most contentious issue of the day. While many of the new members were ardent ERA supporters, Independent Eva Scott of Amelia County and Republican Bonnie Paul from Harrisonburg were staunch opponents. McDiarmid and Marshall discovered in conversations with their new colleagues, however, that if they all agreed to disagree on the ERA and set the issue aside, the female delegates could find common ground on other issues, most notably on the need to strengthen the legal and economic position of Virginia women.

During the 1976 assembly session, the seven women delegates began meeting regularly to talk about the issues they all supported and to develop an agenda.

Soon they were referring to themselves informally as the Women's Caucus. They decided to start by tackling Virginia's outdated divorce and inheritance laws, which they believed disadvantaged wives and mothers who worked within the home and did not have their own earned income. The caucus asked Culpeper lawyer Carroll Kem Shackelford to serve as their legal adviser to help them draft a legislative package, which they introduced in the 1977 session. Their proposals aimed to strengthen women's marital property rights, give courts the power to divide a couple's property more equitably in divorce proceedings, and enable women to have an equal say in determining child custody. "Basic to all the bills," Marshall explained to her constituents,

> is the firm belief of the members of the Caucus that marriage is a partnership to which each partner contributes according to his abilities and resources, that each has a claim on the partnership's material assets, and that home making and the nurture of children is an honorable calling for those who choose it—a calling from which women should not be turned aside by years of service to home and family. Economic problems arising when a marriage is broken up in divorce—support of a spouse and children, care of children, and division of family property—are the concern of this package.[23]

The legislation introduced by the women delegates proposed sweeping changes to Virginia's divorce and child custody laws, and each of the bills came under close scrutiny by the members of the House Courts of Justice Committee, which Marshall described as "the Bermuda Triangle of the Virginia General Assembly." When speaking before the committee, the women were peppered with questions not only about the substance of their bills but also about the technical language they used. Many of the delegates on the committee were lawyers by trade, and their questions gave the impression that they believed their female colleagues (who were not lawyers) did not understand the law well enough to draft viable legislation. In the end, the committee agreed to carry many of the bills over to the next assembly session, which gave caucus members time to make changes in response to the committee's objections.[24]

By the close of the 1977 session the women delegates could claim victory in two areas. They were able to alter the definition of the right of dower, the long-standing legal tradition that gave a married woman a third interest in her husband's property only during her lifetime. Under the new law, married women gained outright ownership of a third of their husbands' property, which was theirs to control after a spouse's death or divorce. The women delegates also won approval for legislation that enabled (though it did not require) judges to take into account a spouse's nonmonetary contribution to a marriage when dividing property in divorce. Marshall, McDiarmid, and their women colleagues expected to work hard in advocating their bills, but they expressed surprise at the intensity of the opposition they faced. As one caucus member saw it, the male

members of the assembly are "scared of us. What we're trying to do involves a transfer of power, and nothing scares them more than that." They agreed that although their gains were small, it was important to continue the effort. In her notes at the session's end, McDiarmid wrote optimistically that "this was the first demonstration of the influence the women members can have when they all act together."[25]

Most of the women's bills carried over by the committee—among them bills proposing revision of Virginia's rape and sexual assault laws, providing assistance to battered wives, establishing the concept of marital property in divorce settlements, and offering insurance protection for divorced or widowed women—were reintroduced in the next two assembly sessions, with little success. Both houses of the assembly passed a bill allowing the testimony of a victim to be sufficient for conviction in a rape case, but last-minute objections ultimately doomed the bill in the final hours of the 1979 session. "It's been just disastrous this session," Marshall declared. She and her colleagues could not decide whether numbering only nine women in the hundred-member House made them easy to ignore or whether their male counterparts believed, as Marshall expressed it, "we have asked for too much and ought to be quiet for a while." "Really," she added, "they don't see the problems at all the way we do."[26]

Marshall was inclined to take the long view, gauging success by the increased public awareness of the problems faced by Virginia women rather than the number of bills they passed. Marshall felt that women outside the legislature were paying attention to the initiatives supported by the women's caucus and hoped that they would see that these proposals were as much about women's equality as was the ERA. "The time may come," Marshall predicted, "when women will organize across the state behind women's legislation just as the women in the General Assembly have learned to cooperate in those areas where they agree." In an attempt to improve her ability to influence her male colleagues, Marshall decided prior to the 1980 assembly session to challenge Hardaway Marks, a powerful six-term delegate from Hopewell, for the chairmanship of the House Democratic caucus. She was unsuccessful but drew media attention, as no woman had ever put herself forward for a leadership position in the General Assembly.[27]

The challenges faced by the assemblywomen, like those of their black male colleagues, also drew attention from the press. Early in the 1979 session *Washington Post* reporter Karlyn Barker interviewed the black and women members of the assembly to assess how they felt about their experience in the Virginia legislature. Most stated that as individuals they were treated politely, but several affirmed that they had encountered discrimination that was subtle and hidden beneath the surface of daily proceedings. "A man who comes down here as a new member starts even," observed Elise Heinz from Arlington, serving in her second legislative session, "but a new woman member is considered a light-

weight until she proves herself." Barker continued to probe the issue, and the following year she and a colleague published a scathing article about the sexist atmosphere in which all women connected to the General Assembly worked. This time they widened the scope of their interviews to include female staffers and lobbyists, who spoke frankly about the patronizing way they were often treated by male members of the assembly and the fraternity-like atmosphere that prevailed in the state capitol, where younger women often found themselves patted, pinched, kissed, and propositioned by male legislators.[28]

None of the women delegates reported having personally experienced such blatant sexual harassment, but six of the nine women delegates agreed that the attitudes of many of their male colleagues created problems for them. "They treat women's legislation as though it were something we were seeking for ourselves—not for the commonwealth," Marshall told the *Washington Post* reporters. "They just wait patiently until we're through so they can get on with serious business." On some occasions, the men snickered, giggled, or poked fun at women's proposals under consideration in committee meetings, in Heinz's words, "like a bunch of adolescents." McDiarmid believed that the underlying cause of this behavior was that most male legislators were profoundly uncomfortable with the social changes that the women's bills would require and that by belittling the proposals they hoped they would somehow disappear.[29]

Led by McDiarmid and Marshall, the women members of the General Assembly reached out to enlist new allies. During the 1980 assembly session, they asked sympathetic male lawmakers to introduce several of their key legislative proposals, hoping that with a male patron their bills might be taken more seriously by hitherto closed-minded colleagues. They also approached women's organizations that maintained a presence at the state capitol for help. The primary focus of many women's groups had for several years been passage of (or, in a few instances, opposition to) the Equal Rights Amendment. Many politically active women had focused on the ERA to the exclusion of all else, and pro- and anti-ERA supporters had become so polarized by their deep feelings that they had stopped talking to each other. "We'd sit on these committee hearings, listening to vital bills on credit, inheritance, or battered spouses," Marshall reflected, "and the groups that should have been lobbying on those issues were standing outside with their 'ERA: Yes!' or 'ERA: No!' banners. It was time to bring them inside."[30]

At Marshall's suggestion, during the 1980 session Richmond lawyer Sylvia Clute hosted a dinner for the women delegates and representatives from a variety of women's organizations to encourage conversation about areas of common interest. At the end of the evening they all agreed that regular meetings to share information about legislation that promoted women's equality would benefit them all. Pat Jensen, president of the Virginia League of Women Voters, agreed to organize what soon became known as the Women's Roundtable. The Roundtable, which began meeting once a week during the 1980 session,

included all of the female legislators and their aides plus lobbyists from thirteen women's organizations, ranging from the American Association of University Women and the United Methodist Women to the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the Committee on Sexual Assault Reform. The group agreed not to discuss the ERA or partisan politics but to focus on the substance of desired legislation. Marshall volunteered to prepare legislative summaries of key bills, and progress reports on these bills were discussed at the weekly meetings. Although Roundtable members held differing views on individual bills, "they joined forces to share information on the legislation, its progress through subcommittee, committee and on the floor," Marshall reported. "They attended hearings, interviewed legislators and testified before committees. . . . We are working together effectively for the first time as women in Virginia. This is real progress."[31]

Slowly but surely this cooperative effort brought results. Roundtable members went back to their parent organizations with information about pending legislation and their members in turn turned up for committee hearings and called their legislators to register their opinions. The 1981 session saw passage of a sexual assault bill that women legislators had been working on unsuccessfully for four years and a resolution authorizing a study of the whole body of law relating to divorce. The following year, although the ERA went down to disastrous and final defeat, several bills that established the concept of marital property and that recognized marriage as a partnership in which women shared equally with men became law. "It's just terrific," Marshall declared at the end of the 1982 session. "We have never had such a good year. ERA did go down, but a lot of the things that ERA meant to accomplish have gone through."[32]

Other legislators, lobbyists, and the general public took note of the Roundtable's success. Attendance at the weekly meetings grew, with men as well as women filling the small conference room where the group met. Dorothy McDiarmid used her influence as a member of the House Appropriations Committee to secure a larger room for the group in the General Assembly Building. In 1984 the House clerk's office recognized the Roundtable by adding its meetings to the daily legislative schedule. In the fall of 1986 the Women's Roundtable held its first legislative conference to discuss how best to make progress in the next assembly session on issues such as child support enforcement, teen pregnancy, reproductive health, day care, prevention of child abuse, and many other issues the twenty-five sponsoring organizations and three hundred conference attendees saw as priorities. In her remarks opening the conference, Marshall described the Roundtable as "one of the greatest inventions we've ever had," and she reminded participants that in seeking legal changes to improve women's lives "we are engaged in a revolution as deep and as profound as that which led to the abolition of slavery and universal suffrage. Revolutions like that do not come easy."[33]

By 1984, just five years after the *Washington Post* exposé of the rampant sexism in the General Assembly, observers began to notice not perhaps a revolution but definitely a transformation occurring in the statehouse. Marshall was especially pleased that a growing number of her male colleagues, who had once dismissed bills put forward by women as self-serving special-interest legislation, now saw these proposals as constructive solutions to social and economic problems that responsible citizens, both men and women, ought to care about. While the work of the Roundtable as a group was credited for much of this shift in thinking, McDiarmid's and Marshall's leadership was widely acknowledged as crucial. These two "ladies of the House," an editorial in the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot* proclaimed in June 1985, were "trench fighters who know and play the legislative game with skill and resolution."[34]

Although there were only eleven women in the hundred-member House that year, the *Virginian-Pilot* predicted that "what women lack in number, Delegates Marshall and McDiarmid may be able to make up in raw political influence." McDiarmid's and Marshall's political instincts and abilities had served them well for years and over time had earned them first the acceptance and then the respect of their peers. By the mid-1980s their long tenures in a body that valued and rewarded seniority finally provided them the clout they needed to make a difference. In January 1986 McDiarmid became chair of the House Appropriations Committee, on which she had served as the sole woman member since 1972. After the speakership, this was the most powerful and coveted position in the House of Delegates. At the same time, Marshall was tapped to lead the influential Counties, Cities and Towns Committee.[35]

Marshall and McDiarmid had worked hard to earn their place within the inner circle of power and influence in the General Assembly. As chairs of important committees their workloads and meeting schedules increased, but otherwise they approached their legislative responsibilities much as they always had. They continued to advance the priorities and interests of their home districts and push for more enlightened state policies and additional financial resources to improve education, health, child welfare, care of the elderly, the status of women, and other issues that directly affected the quality of life of all Virginians. Now, though, their points of view helped drive their party's legislative agenda. McDiarmid had for years tried to convince her colleagues on the House Appropriations Committee to fund many of Virginia's unmet human service needs. As committee chair she was able, as political commentator Larry Sabato described it, "to move the money where the people are." Marshall also felt more comfortable "taking off the gloves" and speaking up on issues that she had not been vocal about before. When proposals that would weaken the state's conflict-of-interest law were put forward in the 1986 session, for example, she sharply challenged the bill's supporters and accused her House colleagues of being willing to tolerate sleaze. Although her comments on the ethics legislation

irritated some of the House leadership, the *Washington Post* reported that "this year legislators are finding that they need to take Marshall more seriously."[36]

Longevity in office certainly contributed to McDiarmid's and Marshall's standing and influence in the General Assembly, but those who worked most closely with them attributed their high ranking on the list of most effective legislators to their honesty and fairness, their pragmatic approach to politics, and their skillful command of the legislative process. McDiarmid was convinced that to be effective "you have to use the art of politics, which they say is the art of the possible; that is to make friends, do your homework and listen." When it became clear, for example, that the ERA, which they both ardently supported, would not make it through the assembly, she and Marshall found a way around the divisiveness of that issue to advance women's equality by other means. Year after year, as they met resistance to their proposals to improve state services, they studied to become more knowledgeable than their opponents on the issues they cared about and used that knowledge to chip away at the status quo.[37]

Both McDiarmid and Marshall prided themselves on being friendly and congenial with their colleagues. They tried to avoid confrontation, preferring instead to persuade others that their point of view was right. "I have a sense of humor and I like people," McDiarmid remarked when asked how she had become so successful. "I also work at getting people to work with me." But when persuasion and reason were not enough, McDiarmid and Marshall demonstrated time and again that they knew what it took to achieve what they desired. "Don't think because Dorothy has a grandmotherly look that she can't cut you off at the knees," Arlington delegate Warren Stambaugh commented on McDiarmid's leadership of House Appropriations. "You don't get that kind of power without knowing how to use it." Marshall, too, was often described as "grandmotherly," but that characterization "overlooked a dry and, at times, pointed wit, a keen talent at outmaneuvering the best backroom 'wheeler-dealer,' and the ability to cut to the heart of any issue, analyze it and identify the most feasible avenues for solving a problem."[38]

At age eighty-two, McDiarmid announced her plan to retire from the General Assembly at the close of the 1989 session. Marshall served another term but retired in 1991. On leaving office, both expressed the hope that more women would become involved in state politics, and they had every reason to think that might be the case. Just a few years earlier, the same week that they became chairs of important legislative committees, former Henry County delegate Mary Sue Terry took the oath of office as attorney general, the first woman ever elected to a statewide post in Virginia. "I think the time has come that people will judge women who run for public office in Virginia the same way they judge men by their qualifications," Mary Sue Terry proclaimed during her campaign. "It wasn't always that way, of course, but it has come about because women have proven beyond doubt their ability to provide leadership and new directions." Then and

now, Dorothy McDiarmid's and Mary Marshall's names stood at the top of the list of Virginia women whose contributions did the most to bring about this change.[39]

NOTES

1. For an overview of the campaign for women's suffrage in Virginia, see Suzanne Lebsock, *Virginia Women, 1600–1945: "A Share of Honour"* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1987), 120–24; Cynthia A. Kierner, Jennifer R. Loux, and Megan Taylor Shockley, *Changing History: Virginia Women through Four Centuries* (Richmond: Library of Virginia, 2013), 229–39; Jennifer Davis McDaid, "Woman Suffrage in Virginia," in Brendan Wolfe, ed., *Encyclopedia Virginia*, Virginia Foundation for the Humanities (hereafter cited as *EV*), http://www.EncyclopediaVirginia.org/Woman_Suffrage_in_Virginia (accessed June 20, 2015); Elna C. Green, *Southern Strategies: Southern Women and the Woman Suffrage Question* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 151–77. For the limits on African American women's political influence and participation, see Kierner et al., *Changing History*, 238–39, 243, and Lorraine Gates Schuyler, *The Weight of Their Votes: Southern Women and Political Leverage in the 1920s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 158.

2. Schuyler, *Weight of Their Votes*, 172–73, 288n50; Lebsock, *"Share of Honour,"* 123–24.

3. Sandra Gioia Treadway, "Sarah Lee Fain: Norfolk's First Woman Legislator," *Virginia Cavalcade* 30 (Winter 1981): 125–32; Adam Burch, "The Great Worth of a Gentle Woman: Helen Timmons Henderson and Buchanan County," *Virginia Capitol Connections* 14 (Winter 2008): 4, 6; "Sallie Cook Booker" and "Nancy Melvinia Caldwell," in Sara B. Bearss et al., eds., *Dictionary of Virginia Biography* (Richmond: Library of Virginia, 2001), 2:86–87, 505–6. For a list of women who served in the General Assembly between 1924 and 2008, see "Women in the General Assembly," *Virginia Capitol Connections* 14 (Winter 2008): 7.

4. Kierner et al., *Changing History*, 291–92.

5. The first of this second wave of women legislators was Kathryn H. Stone of Arlington, who served in the Virginia House of Delegates from 1954 to 1966. She served her first two terms in the House alone, but in 1958 Inez Baker from Portsmouth and Charlotte Giesen from Radford joined Stone in Richmond. Baker served only a year in the assembly then returned again in 1966–67; Giesen served from 1958 to 1961. See Obituary, Kathryn H. Stone, *New York Times*, May 26, 1995; Obituary, Inez Baker, *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, March 13, 2011; Arthur R. "Pete" Giesen Jr., "Charlotte Giesen: A Southwestern Virginia Trailblazer," *Virginia Capitol Connections* 4 (Autumn 1998): 11–12.

6. Suzanne Painter Moore, "Dorothy McDiarmid: The Gentlelady from Northern Virginia" (MA thesis, Hollins College, 1987), chapter 3, 1–2. The parade that McDiarmid recalled attending may have been the one that took place on March 13, 1913, when more than five thousand women marched along Pennsylvania Avenue. For images of this event, see "Marching for the Vote: Remembering the Woman Suffrage Parade of 1913," American Memory, Library of Congress, http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/awhhtml/awo1e/awo1e.html (accessed August 26, 2014).

7. "Old Dominion's New Lady Delegate: Public Schools Are Her Main Concern," *Washington Post*, November 8, 1959; Moore, "Dorothy McDiarmid," chapter 3, 3–4. On the fight to keep Virginia's public schools open, see James H. Hershman Jr., "Massive Resistance Meets Its Match: The Emergence of a Pro–Public School Majority," in Matthew Lassiter and Andrew Lewis, eds., *The Moderates' Dilemma: Massive Resistance to School Desegregation in Virginia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998), 127–32. The Virginia General Assembly consists of the House of Delegates, which has a hundred members, and the Senate, with forty members.

8. "Now There Are Three," *Washington Post*, January 21, 1960; Legislative Record of Webb and McDiarmid—1960 Session, undated memorandum; Dorothy McDiarmid to Margaret Browning, January 29, 1960; McDiarmid to various constituents, all dated February 16, 1960; McDiarmid to Maralyn Orbison, February 15, 1960, all in Box 50, Dorothy S. McDiarmid Papers, George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia (hereafter cited as McDiarmid Papers).

9. Webb-McDiarmid Fact Sheets, 1–5, October 1961, Box 51, McDiarmid Papers; "Virginia Campaign Is Quietest in Years," *Washington Post*, October 29, 1961; "Fairfax Democrats in Shock over GOP's Victory," *Washington Post*, November 9, 1961; "Distaff Candidates Are Wooing Voters in Virginia Election Races," *Washington Post*, November 3, 1963; "Democrats Win Easily in 2 Races," *Washington Post*, November 6, 1963; "Official Results Listed for N. Virginia Vote," *Washington Post*, November 9, 1963.

10. Kierner et al., *Changing History*, 322–23; "To Aid Women Virginians Seek Status Commission," *Washington Post*, January 25, 1964; Governor Albertis S. Harrison to Elizabeth Angle, February 10, 1965, Box 147, Governor Albertis S. Harrison Executive Papers, Library of Virginia; "Virginia Gives Women Status," *Washington Post*, February 19, 1965; *Report of the Commission on the Status of Women to the Governor and the General Assembly of Virginia* (Richmond: Department of Purchases and Supply, 1966); Virginia Council on the Status of Women, *History, 1965–1987* (Richmond: Virginia Council on the Status of Women, 1987), 11–12. By 1967 all states had established women's commissions, many also by executive order. See NACW History on the National Association of Commissions for Women website, http://www.nacw.org/about/index.php?page=history (accessed June 20, 2015).

11. "Farewell, Fair Kathryn" (editorial), *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, March 16, 1965; "A Lonely Voice at Richmond," *Washington Post*, August 8, 1965.

12. Katherine Chaddock Reynolds, *Visions and Vanities: John Andrew Rice of Black Mountain College* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998), 51–52, 57, 59, 60–61, 99, 164, 170, 171, 175, 193; "John Andrew Rice," in William S. Powell, ed., *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*, 6 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979–1996), 5:210–11; "She Sews a Fine Seam, but Her Forte Is Politics," *Washington Post*, September 12, 1958; "*The* Hobby for Women—Politics," undated clipping (c. 1960), Box 19, series 8, Personal Papers of Mary A. Marshall, Arlington Public Library, Arlington, Virginia (hereafter cited as Marshall Papers).

13. "League of Women Voters of Virginia Questionnaire for General Assembly Candidates," and Mary Marshall to Arlington Voters, June 17, 1965, both Box 11, Marshall Papers.

14. "A Bonnet Is Thrown in the Ring," *Washington* Post, April 1, 1965); "Mrs. McDiarmid Says: Don't Pay-As-You-Go," *Washington Post*, November 19, 1967; Mary A. Marshall to Dear Friends, May 1967, Box 11, Marshall Papers.

15. "She Marshals Both Home and Politics," *Washington Post*, November 20, 1967; "Womans Place in Gen'l Ass.," undated handwritten notes, c. 1966–67, Box 53, McDiarmid Papers.

16. Moore, "Dorothy McDiarmid," chapter 6, 6.

17. Moore, "Dorothy McDiarmid," chapter 2, 20–21; chapter 6, 7.

18. "Mary A. Marshall: Dedicated Democrat, Devoted Delegate," *Roosevelt Society News* (May/June 1991), 3, typescript copy, Box 1, Marshall Papers; "Mrs. McDiarmid: Heavy Hitter, Her Fairness Wins Respect," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, February 17, 1988.

19. A. E. Dick Howard, *Commentaries on the Constitution of Virginia*, 2 vols. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1974), 1:236–37; Virginia General Assembly, Senate, *Proceedings and Debates Pertaining to Amendment of the Constitution, Extra Session 1969, Regular Session 1970* (Richmond: Department of Purchases and Supply, 1971), 380; Virginia General Assembly, House of Delegates, *Proceedings and Debates Pertaining to Amendment of the Constitution, Extra Session 1969, Regular Session 1970* (Richmond: Department of Purchases and Supply, 1973), 671.

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38. Ibid.; "Dorothy McDiarmid: The Lady with Clout," 2; Moore, "'Queen' of the Virginia Assembly"; "Mary A. Marshall: Dedicated Democrat, Devoted Delegate," 1. Every year the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot* surveyed legislators and political correspondents, asking them to rank members of the House and Senate in terms of their legislative effectiveness, and published the results. In 1989, McDiarmid's last year in the House, she was ranked at number 2, just behind Speaker A. L. Philpott, and Marshall was ranked number 16. "Legislative Effectiveness Survey," *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, January 29, 1989.

39. John Harris, "After 26 Years, McDiarmid Calls It a Career," *Washington Post*, April 28, 1989; Pierre Thomas, "Virginia's McDiarmid Dies at 87," *Washington Post*, June 10, 1994; "Dorothy Shoemaker McDiarmid," editorial, *Washington Post*, June 11, 1994; press release announcing Mary Marshall's retirement, April 23, 1991, Box 8, Marshall Papers; Bart Barnes, "Mary A. Marshall, 71, Dies," *Washington Post*, October 16, 1992; John Lyle, "Ex-Delegate for 23 Years Dies at 71," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, October 16, 1992; "Dorothy McDiarmid: The Lady with Clout," 5; John Goolrick, "No Longer Ignored: Virginia's Women Delegates Can Look Back on a Lot of Progress," *Fredericksburg Free Lance-Star*, February 8, 1985. While more women have become involved in Virginia politics since the 1980s, in 2015 Virginia ranked forty-second out of fifty states in the percentage of women serving in the state legislature. Virginia has never elected a woman as governor or U.S. senator, and to date Mary Sue Terry is the only woman who has ever been elected to statewide office. See "Women in State Legislatures 2015," Center for American Women in Politics, Rutgers University, http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/women-state-legislature-2015 (accessed August 31, 2015), and Andrea Levien and Cynthia Terrell, "In Va. Politics, the Glass Ceiling Has Few Cracks," *Washington Post*, November 29, 2013.

Sharon Bottoms and Linda Kaufman

Legal Rights and Lesbian Mothers

MEGAN TAYLOR SHOCKLEY

In 1993 a young Henrico County mother faced the fight of her life as she attempted to gain custody of her son, Tyler—challenging her own mother. Just six years later, an Arlington mother sued Virginia's Department of Social Services after it denied her application to adopt a second child. These women were separated by age, circumstance, and region. Sharon Bottoms, a twenty-three-year-old divorced mom, had dropped out of high school, did not have a full-time job, and had spent several years living with friends before settling down with her partner. Linda Kaufman, more than twice Sharon Bottoms's age at the time she filed suit against Virginia, was an ordained Episcopal minister with a stable home, job, partner, and nine-year-old son she had adopted in Washington, D.C., in 1992. Sharon Bottoms had admitted that she had not always been an ideal parent. Linda Kaufman was hailed by all to be a loving and responsible mother. Sharon Bottoms lived in Henrico County, a conservative county outside of Richmond, Virginia. Linda Kaufman resided in Arlington, Virginia, an area known for its progressive politics.

Both women had something in common, however—they were involved in committed same-sex relationships. This fact alone caused officials of the Commonwealth of Virginia to deny them rights that would have been accorded to heterosexual mothers. Both women fought back, challenging the state's definition of them as criminals. The cases, and the discourse surrounding the cases in the popular press, brought up important issues concerning motherhood, respectability, and sexuality. The courts, lawyers, legal scholars, Sharon Bottoms, and Linda Kaufman employed different concepts of what constituted appropriate behavior for mothers. In each case, the language of respectability circulated around the women's sexual orientation. The experiences of Bottoms and

Kaufman reflected the ways in which Virginia's LGBT community faced discrimination as parents, and how they responded to the denial of their basic civil rights.

Sharon Bottoms was not the first lesbian in the country to face a custody issue over her sexuality, but she was the first to lose custody to someone other than the child's other biological parent in Virginia.[1] In fact, LGBT parents had been fighting for the rights to their children in the last two decades of the twentieth century. Law review cases and legal histories of LGBT parenting document the fact that in the 1970s, custody and visitation rights surfaced in many cases throughout the country, including in California, Ohio, Maine, and Florida, among other states. In some cases, the heterosexual parent did not win, but legal scholars found that at least by the mid-1970s, more homosexual parents were losing the battle for their children. At this point, a group of activists in Seattle founded the Lesbian Mothers' Defense Fund, which provided five thousand dollars to twenty-five lesbian mothers throughout the country who were embroiled in child custody battles. Local groups also assisted in fund-raising for mothers, as did the Virginia Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights, the Richmond Lesbian Feminists, and the Virginia Women's Political Caucus, which in 1979 supported a Richmond mother embroiled in a custody battle by sponsoring the *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) brief brought forward by a College of William and Mary law student.[2]

By the 1980s more LGBT parents were seeking custody of their children after divorces from their heterosexual spouses. Their presence in the courts was coupled by sociological and psychological reports that proved children of LGBT parents were no different than children raised by straight parents. This led to the widespread adoption of what legal scholars term the "nexus" approach of judicial decision making, which considered a parent's sexuality as one among many mitigating factors. However, as one legal scholar pointed out, in "traditionalist" courts, judges still tended to rule against homosexual parents because the courts enabled judges to either rely on their own attitudes about sexuality or "are required by statute to do so."[3]

These legal battles took place in an era of increasing awareness of gay rights and the emergence of a New Right that sought to restrict the gains made by the LGBT community. While not new, political conservatives' backlash against such gains became more intense in the late 1970s and 1980s with Anita Bryant's "Save Our Children" campaign and the rise of the moral majority. Anti-LGBT activists sought to reinforce what they considered to be "traditional families" and decried society's movement toward accepting different family models. The AIDS crisis also ratcheted up antigay language from conservative organizations. The backlash, coupled with increased acceptance of LGBT rights in the media and with many in American society, helped to galvanize LGBT activists, who organized against the conservative surge.[4]

SHARON BOTTOMS (CENTER) AND APRIL WADE (RIGHT)
Taking their case to the air on the Doug Wilder program in April 1995.
Photograph courtesy of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*.

LINDA KAUFMAN (RIGHT) AND LIANE ROZZELL (LEFT) WITH THEIR SONS (2008)

Courtesy of Linda Kaufman and Liane Rozzell.

It was in this climate that Sharon Bottoms found herself when she began her child custody battle. She may not have been the first parent to fight—and lose—custody of her son because of her sexuality, but she was arguably the most famous. The contest began in 1993, when Pamela Kay Bottoms successfully sued for sole custody of her two-year-old grandson, Tyler Doustou, in Henrico County family court. In the circuit court appeal, Sharon's past behavior as a mother played an important part in the testimony. Kay Bottoms claimed that her daughter left Tyler with her on many occasions and that often was not reachable after she left. Sharon's brother claimed that this happened "just about every weekend" and that she had once gone away for more than a week. Sharon had previously testified that she had gone out of state once for three days and that she had called her mother several times while she was gone. Kay Bottoms said that Tyler also cursed, stomped his feet, and got upset when he had to go home with Bottoms and her partner, April Wade. Sharon Bottoms also admitted that she had "screamed at him" and "popped him on his leg too hard a couple of times" when he was a year old, but that she was working on that problem through counseling. In an attempt to depict her daughter as promiscuous, the grandmother also asserted that Sharon had sexual relations with several men in the bedroom in the first year of Tyler's life.[5]

Sharon's relative poverty was also on trial. Her brother testified: "Frequently she has admitted she was never fit to be a mother. She was not ready to be a mother. She, I understand, would get her week checks and would go do her fingernails before the baby would get any food." On the stand, Bottoms admitted that she did not have a GED, that she was unemployed until several weeks before the trial, and that she and Wade were living off Wade's take-home pay of $225 a week. She did not have a checking or savings account. She had Medicaid for Tyler, but that was cut off. She also had to testify that she had been living with many other people for the space of several years, and she used her welfare check to help with rent. In fact, Kay Bottoms claimed that she could be a better provider for Tyler, "Financially, physically, mentally."[6]

Whatever Sharon Bottoms's shortcomings as a parent, Pamela Kay Bottoms could not be called a "model parent," either. Kay Bottoms sued her daughter when Sharon sought to restrict Tyler's visits to her home, mainly because her mother was still living with a man whom Sharon claimed to have molested her more than eight hundred times when she was between the ages of twelve and eighteen. In her testimony Sharon claimed that the sexual abuse eventually made her go to a counselor to try to "get my life going" and "start the healing." When she told her mother that she had been abused, her mother did not believe it at first, but according to Bottoms, when another woman confirmed that he had also assaulted her, Kay said she "was going to talk to Tommy." In court Kay Bottoms's response to whether she believed her daughter was: "In a way I did and I didn't. I had no reason to believe her."[7] One legal scholar called her

attitude about the alleged abuse against her daughter "ambivalent and dismissive."[8] When Sharon Bottoms's lawyer questioned Kay Bottoms on the fact that she lived with this man for eighteen years and that he left the home prior to the inception of the court case, apparently ending the relationship. She claimed that "I talked to Mr. Ryder [her lawyer]. I wanted custody of Tyler. We thought it would be the best thing to do."[9]

Kay Bottoms was also poor. She had dropped out of high school and worked as a nurse's aide and a manager of a shoe store. At the time of the trial she worked as a nanny and made $12,000 a year. She, too, lived in a friend's home—as she testified, "We've been friends for twenty-some years, and she bought a trailer and parked it at the river and she didn't want to give her house up." She said the friend would let her keep it "as long as I wanted it, as long as I needed it." Like her daughter, Bottoms did not have a bank account or assets to speak of, except for a car and $500 in savings. She, too, lived on $225 a week and had no health insurance.[10]

In addition to the evidence about her parenting, the trial record shows a strong focus on Sharon Bottoms's sexual orientation. Bottoms's brother Kenneth testified that Tyler's crib was in the bedroom shared by Sharon and April Wade, her partner, and that another lesbian had lived with the couple previously. Pressed by her mother's lawyer, Bottoms confirmed that, in his words, she did "hug and kiss openly" and "once in a while" received a "pat on the bottom" from Wade. Sharon was forced to discuss intimate details of her relationship with Wade in court. When her mother's lawyer asked about having oral sex in the bedroom when Tyler was present, she denied that it ever happened. When he asked why she "didn't want the child to see you having sex with April," she replied, "Because a child isn't to see sex with anybody."[11]

The court-sponsored guardian (guardian ad litem) for Tyler also questioned Sharon Bottoms's relationship. He asked Bottoms why she was living with Wade again when she was advised not to, and she replied, "I didn't know I could fight any other way until I talked to the ACLU." When he asked if she would choose Wade over her child, she said she would choose Tyler, but that "I was taking a chance." The guardian ad litem asked whether it was "morally healthy for a child to be raised in a home where the parents are not married," and she replied that it depended on the circumstance. He noted that juvenile court would not let Sharon see Tyler if April were present, so he asked about their living situation: "Doesn't that indicate in your mind that you think more of April than you do the child?" He also asked her about Tyler calling April "Da Da," and the fact that they live "as husband and wife," both of which she affirmed, though she claimed that she discouraged Tyler from using "Da Da."[12]

Kay Bottoms also made clear that it was the lesbian relationship that most concerned her. Although she said that "I don't care how my daughter lives[s]," she continued that "Tyler is going to be mentally and physically harmed in this.

He is going to have go through so much dogging. . . . Well, comments, going through the hassle of having gay parents, the whole works." In fact, when the guardian ad litem asked, "Is there any homosexual relationship you can imagine that would be okay in your eyes to raise a child," she replied no. When he pressed her and asked, "Is it fair to say your major bone of contention is the fact that she is living in an open homosexual relationship with another woman," she admitted that it was the case.[13]

Sharon Bottoms's lawyers had salient refutations to the testimony offered. Her team called an expert witness, Charlotte Patterson, who was associate professor of psychology and a child psychology expert at the University of Virginia. She testified that in her extensive research, children of homosexual parents were no worse off than those of straight parents. And even the court psychologist who evaluated both Kay and Sharon Bottoms claimed that Kay Bottoms was more "rigid" in her parenting and "seemed less open to the fact that . . . maybe she needed to make changes." She claimed that Sharon was less assertive and self-assured, but that she understood that she needed to make changes and acknowledge that fact.[14]

While everything from Sharon's previous sexual behavior to her lack of full-time employment were brought into testimony at the trial, the judge made it clear that her relationship with April Wade was the crux of his concern in this case. In his decision, Buford Parsons noted: "The mother . . . has openly admitted in this court that she is living in an active homosexual relationship. She admitted she is sharing a bed with another, her female lover. . . . Sharon Bottoms in this courtroom admitted a commitment to April Wade, which as she contemplates will be permanent, and as I understand her testimony, long lasting if not forever." In another sad irony, Sharon's determination to settle down in a committed relationship worked against her in this court. The judge considered it negative that "she readily admits her behavior in open affection shown to April Wade in front of the child." Parsons seemed concerned that Tyler called April "Da Da," and he clearly stated that "the mother's conduct is illegal. It is a Class 6 felony in Virginia." Furthermore, he said her "conduct [was] immoral." He also suggested that her relationship would place an "intolerable burden" on her son. Only in one sentence did he mention unrebutted testimony that Sharon cursed in front of the child and put him in a corner.[15] The rest of the three-page decision focused on Sharon Bottoms's sexual orientation. Not once did he mention the fact that Kay Bottoms had lived in a relationship with a man to whom she could have been married, nor did he discuss her similar financial situation.

Public outcry against the decision was swift and came from diverse communities. Kent Willis, director of the ACLU of Virginia, claimed, "We don't usually hear from so many people who take our side." According to a newspaper report, he received "hundreds of letters denouncing the court's decision." Richmond's LGBT community was particularly supportive. The Lesbian Womyn of Color of

Richmond held a fund-raiser, as did the Hershey Bar in Norfolk. Metropolitan Community Churches collected money for Bottoms as well. The Richmond Lesbian Feminists held fund-raisers and sent both money and cards to the couple. It raised money for the ACLU's Sharon Bottoms Defense Fund with notices in its newsletter. In one, an editor said, "Sharon and April have also had a lot of expenses related to the custody case. Their visibility and decision to use their own names has caused them job discrimination, harassment, and other problems." Virginians for Justice denounced the decision and blamed "Judge Parsons' own homophobia" for the decision. Support for Bottoms and Wade continued throughout the course of the appeals. The money and concern was very much appreciated; Beth Marschak reported to the Richmond Lesbian Feminists that "Sharon and April want to thank everyone for the support they have received."[16]

The case lasted through two appeals over two years, and in all of that time Tyler lived with his grandmother. Sharon Bottoms won a victory in the appeals court, when a panel of three judges reversed the original decision, maintaining: "the evidence fails to prove that Sharon Bottoms, the child's mother, abused or neglected her son, that her lesbian relationship with April Wade has or will have a deleterious effect on her son, or that she is an unfit parent. To the contrary, the evidence showed that Sharon Bottoms is and has been a fit and nurturing parent who has adequately provided and cared for her son. No evidence tended to prove that the child will be harmed by remaining with his mother." Although the justices determined that the court could—and should—take Bottoms's sexuality into account as a mitigating factor, that because this was a case in which the appellant was not a biological parent, different rules concerning custody applied, and there was no compelling evidence to take Tyler away from his mother.[17]

However, in a four to three decision, the Virginia Supreme Court overruled the appellate court in 1995. The supreme court appeared to attempt to work within the "nexus" version of decision making, as the justices remarked on the original testimony citing Sharon Bottoms's previous sexual behavior, her "brief employment," and her alleged use of "welfare money to do her fingernails." The opinion also focused on the evidence that Sharon cursed at and hit Tyler and was absent frequently, and sometimes made him stand in the corner. It also cited evidence from two years earlier that the guardian ad litem for Tyler suggested that Tyler stay with the grandmother at least at that present time, since custody was flexible.[18]

The state supreme court decision ignored legal considerations when it decided against Sharon Bottoms. First, it went against Virginia's own legal precedent of favoring the biological parent. Legal scholars commented on this point of fact. Douglas Steinberg noted that the court had previously established that there must be "clear and convincing evidence" that the child would be harmed by the parent. Virginia legal precedents included what Stephen Pershing called

"grotesque" situations. The court allowed a parent to keep a child whose stepfather had murdered the father in the presence of the child; allowed a child to stay with the father who had abused and ultimately killed his mother while he appealed his murder conviction; and allowed a child to remain with a father who sexually abused the child's half sister and fathered another child out of wedlock.[19] The judges also failed to consider any of the information provided in amicus briefs filed by the National Center for Lesbian Rights, NOW Legal Defense Fund, Lambda Legal, the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychology, American Psychological Association, the National Association of Social Workers, and the American Academy of Matrimonial Lawyers, all on Sharon Bottoms's behalf.

The supreme court attempted to mitigate its ruling against precedent in the decision, but still made clear that Bottoms's sexuality was the key problem. The decision stated that "a lesbian mother is not per se an unfit parent." But in the next sentence it concluded: "Conduct inherent in lesbianism is punishable as a Class 6 felony in the Commonwealth. . . . Thus, that conduct is another important consideration in determining custody." The court acknowledged that it would not "overlook" Bottoms's and Wade's relationship, because Tyler would "likely" face a burden in the form of "social condemnation" as a result of Bottoms's "arrangement."[20]

At this point, Sharon Bottoms decided to forgo the appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court and sought instead to change the very restrictive visitation schedule, which allowed her not quite two days a week with her son, and not in her home. Bottoms characterized her decision as heartbreaking. As she said to an *Advocate* reporter, "[Tyler's] in school now. . . . He needs to be stable." Bottoms also understood the prejudice she faced, when she noted, "As long as we have the judges we have, I won't get Tyler back." Wade sounded defeated when she claimed, "It's beyond painful. On a scale of one to a billion . . . it's a billion-plus. . . . The decision to stop was just as difficult as the decision to fight."[21]

Throughout the course of the appeals, legal scholars decried the verdicts of the Henrico circuit court judge and the Virginia Supreme Court. Douglas Steinberg pointed out that Parsons applied the sodomy law to Sharon Bottoms but not the "lewd and lascivious cohabitation" statute to her mother. He determined that the court was "more concerned with same-sex sodomy than heterosexual sexual misconduct." He also argued that the judge used "a sliding scale of 'outness'" that determined what kind of behavior was permissible to display in front of a child. The kinds of intimacy detailed in the trial, he suggested, were "contact that probably would be ignored in a heterosexual relationship."[22] Yvonne Tamayo charged the court with persistently supporting "the tradition and orthodoxy provided by families containing heterosexual parents or parent-figures."[23] Several scholars criticized the lengths to which the supreme court went to try to find other justifications for taking Tyler away from his mother, all of which,

in Joseph Price's words, "in the absence of Sharon's sexual orientation, undoubtedly would have been insufficient to permit denying a biological parent custody under Virginia law."[24]

Several cited the judicial precedents that supported Sharon Bottoms's right to her child. Steinberg described Virginia's "long-standing legal tradition of protecting the sanctity of parent-child relationships." He argued that the appellate court decision took into account earlier legal precedents, including one that allowed a lesbian mother to retain her parental rights when a nonbiological custodian attempted to secure custody. One of Bottoms's counselors, Stephen Pershing, cited other judicial precedents that allowed biological parents to retain custody of their children, even in "cases that can only be described as grotesque," including a mother and stepfather who won custody of a child who had seen his father killed by the stepfather; children who remained with an abusive father who eventually murdered their mother, at least while his case was on appeal; and a child whose father sexually abused the child's half sister. Pershing summed up the views of many when he concluded: "If a competent, stable, and loving lesbian mother is divested of custody of her natural two-year-old child in favor of a third party in a jurisdiction where parents have retained custody in cases as extreme as [other judicial precedents], the conclusion is inescapable that homophobia, pure and simple, motivated the decision."[25]

While these scholars noted the way in which court testimony and judicial decisions had focused on not only Bottoms's sexual orientation but also her behavior, they claimed that it was her sexuality that was the determining factor in the case. At the time, only one legal scholar seemed to think that sexuality was NOT the overriding factor in the decision. In an *Advocate* article, American University law professor and LGBT rights legal expert Nancy Polikoff noted, "In a perverse way, the Bottoms case is an advance for Virginia state law. . . . As horrible as it is for Sharon, they didn't say she didn't get custody because she's a lesbian living with her lover—amen." But reflecting on the case two years after the decision, Darren Hutchinson argued that the case reflected more complexity than that: "The decisions in [the case] are replete with gender and class hostility and homophobia." In 2002 he expanded on this analysis when he opined that the issues surrounding the case were more complicated. He argued that although the "trial judge's homophobia clearly influenced the decision in Bottoms," Hutchinson believed that "the court's description of Sharon Bottoms relied upon social stereotypes that portray poor, single mothers, especially those women who depend upon public assistance to help care for their families, as "'irresponsible parents.'"[26] What he and other legal scholars failed to note was the long-standing historical bias against poor single mothers, whom the state—and the dominant society—deemed were undeserving of support.

Many historians have argued that from the beginning of a state-created welfare system, officials have determined who was guilty of "deviant" behavior and

therefore ineligible for public assistance as a result. Generally, those who were worthy were widowed women—those who were not were unmarried mothers. In addition, since the 1970s more Americans believed that welfare recipients cheated the system, which reflected a growing hostility toward women who relied on public assistance to make ends meet. Often the ire of those who felt this way was directed at the larger phenomenon of unmarried mothers, who, as one scholar maintains, were blamed for everything from urban poverty to the rise in drugs and the destruction of American culture.[27] It was not long before the Bottoms case that Ronald Reagan had told stories of the infamous Chicago "welfare queen" who bilked the government of $150,000 and used more than eighty aliases. Reagan continued to tell this story even after newspapers found the woman in question, who had been convicted of fraud in the amount of $8,000 with the use of four aliases. It was only two years before Sharon Bottoms stood in court that Clarence Thomas had called his own sister a "deadbeat on welfare."[28]

Court testimony accusing Bottoms of misusing funds reflected a long-held belief by many in society that many welfare recipients were taking advantage of the system. Bottoms had already been branded a "sexual deviant" by the court, so it was not surprising that she had been put in the same company with so-called welfare abusers, an image so prevalent at the time of the trial. Interestingly, as many scholars claim, stereotypes of "welfare queens" tended to be African American—another marginalized group in U.S. society. So as Bottoms was marginalized by her sexuality, she was lumped in with others whom society deemed to be threatening to the economic and social fabric of America. Of course, Kay Bottoms's living situation, as well as her own relative poverty, never came up in the judicial decision, which strongly suggests that the court privileged a poor heterosexual woman over a poor lesbian as a better parental model.

In contrast to court testimony and judicial decisions in the case, most media depictions of Sharon Bottoms portrayed her very sympathetically, and the case made national news. A reporter for *People* magazine asserted: "Sharon Bottoms readily admits she wasn't always the best mother" but that she had determined to become a better parent and that she was successful in changing. It also featured a quote from Tyler's biological father, Dennis Doustou, who described Kay: "The woman is cold-hearted. . . . It's no reason to take a child from his mother. That's totally wrong." An article in the *New York Times* revealed April Wade's parental sensibilities when she said, "I sense that he feels that I've abandoned him. . . . I told him that if we won, I'd teach him to swim this summer."[29]

Other media focused on Bottoms's motherly concern for her child and the couple's aspiration to live a quiet life. *Time* magazine featured a story on gay and lesbian parents that focused on Sharon Bottoms, and it described hers as a traditional family home. The article began with a narrative of the "framed handwritten copy of the vows of love and commitment that brought on all their grief."

The reporter wrote of "the matching tattoos on their left arms [that] combine their initials and Tyler's. The walls are covered with photos—some of the boy alone, some with Sharon, some with both women." This article, too, acknowledged Sharon's shaky start in life but noted, "The women saw their relationship as a chance to turn around misdirected lives. . . . They dreamed of buying a house, settling into middle-class stability."[30]

Another theme present in the press was the lack of "gay activism" manifested by the women. Indeed, Sharon Bottoms and April Wade focused not on issues of sexuality in their statements but on parenting. The *Time* article was careful to say that "inside the women's two-bedroom garden apartment, there was no talk of activism, of politics, of advancing a gay agenda—only of somehow putting a family back together." A caption under Bottoms in *U.S. News and World Report* said: "Bottoms doesn't see herself as a hero." It quoted her as saying, "I'm just a mother trying to get her son back."[31]

Although the media downplayed Bottoms's identity as a "gay activist," Sharon was more outspoken about the fact that her lesbian identity was keeping her from her child. As she said to a *Time* magazine reporter, she would not allow April to move out of the home, despite April's willingness to do so in order to get Tyler back. Sharon said, "I don't want it to be a requirement. I'm a good mother. I'm a good person. I don't understand why, if you're gay or lesbian, you don't have the same rights as anyone else." She also recognized Virginia as a place unfriendly to gay rights when she commented on the LGBT "baby boom" in the *Advocate*: "More power to them—and don't move to Virginia." Wade also made clear her position on parental rights: "The American public thinks we're asking for special rights. . . . But I don't think it's a special right to raise a child. It's a special thing to raise a child, but it's not a special right."[32]

Sharon continued to seek changes to the custody arrangement in family court in 1996, based on her changed circumstances. Bottoms had secured a stable part-time job as a receiving clerk at Kmart, and the couple would receive $75,000 and five percent of the profits from a movie about their lives that ABC was producing, starring Valerie Bertinelli as a character based on Sharon. An article in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* noted that the court-appointed advocate, Torrence Harman, said that Sharon "had matured" and was establishing a stable home, while her mother Kay "had proven to be indulgent and inattentive to Tyler." A *Richmond Times-Dispatch* reporter claimed that Harman "delivered a strong rebuke of Kay Bottoms's parenting skills. She said she was unwilling to discipline Tyler, and Tyler in turn has become dominating of adults and other children." The story went on to say that Harman described developmental delays. According to the reporter, Harman stated, "I don't think Sharon's is a perfect place. . . . But I think this child is doing very poorly, and . . . unless there are some radical things that change, that child is headed to some significant problems."[33]

As in previous hearings, despite all testimony and precedent, Kay Bottoms retained custody of Tyler. To a reporter, Judge Boice claimed that it was not Bottoms's sexuality that convinced him, but his statement belied that claim. He said, "I am less concerned with her lesbianism than Tyler being made a poster boy for a case he could not and did not enlist. . . . I am appalled at the movie contract. [Sharon Bottoms] continues to put her interests above that of her child. For all her shortcomings, Kay does not."[34] If this "cause" that Boice described was Sharon's determination to remain in a committed relationship with April Wade, then yet again Bottoms's sexual orientation was taking precedent over the facts in the case.

After a judge changed Bottoms's visitation in a way that further restricted the time she could spend with Tyler later that year, a *Richmond Times-Dispatch* described her anger. She said, "I think it's wrong. I think it's just unfair. . . . What's wrong with Tyler knowing my life and knowing someone I love?" Wade was also angry that she was to remain out of the home during the few visits allowed by the judge: "Who do these people really think they are to tell me I have to leave my home? . . . I realize they are homophobic (but) it's cruel and unusual punishment." Yet again, the media focused on Bottoms's motherly concern: "I constantly worry about Tyler. Neither (April nor I) can sleep. It's had its moments in our relationship." And she worried about how her relationship with her mother was hurting Tyler: "He lives for the moment. . . . But he's touched by it. He knows grandma don't like mama. . . . He don't understand it. He tries to."[35]

Bottoms continued to seek more visitation rights, but she dropped out of the media's eye after 1996. Bottoms was finally awarded more time with Tyler in 1998, receiving more holiday time and two weeks in the summer, but the requirement to keep Tyler away from April was not rescinded by the judge. The court of appeals did not overrule the decision.[36] When a reporter tried to speak with her about the case in 1999, she noted that Bottoms "could not be reached for comment and was being advised by her attorney not to discuss the case."[37] Although Bottoms may have been successful in creating a positive media image of herself as a mother who was trying to do the best for her child, she was never victorious in court.

If Sharon Bottoms dramatized the worst-case scenarios faced by lesbian and gay parents seeking custody in the late twentieth century, Linda Kaufman epitomized the LGBT experience with adoption when she filed suit against the Department of Social Services (DSS) for discrimination. In the 1970s and 1980s many gay and lesbian parents adopted children, but often without making their sexual orientation known and usually as single-parent adopters. As in custody cases, lawsuits often determined whether a potential parent would receive a child.[38] By the late 1990s only New Hampshire and Florida explicitly prohibited adoption by LGBT parents. Often courts reviewing the cases focused only on whether an individual adoption was consistent with the state adoption law as

it was written. As more men and women publicly claimed their sexual orientation, more cases ended up in court. By the mid-1990s the higher profile of these cases caused officials to attempt to stop gays and lesbians from becoming foster or adoptive parents. Still, as Charlotte Patterson, the expert witness for Sharon Bottoms, explained, by the mid-1990s lesbian and gay potential parents with "the resources to cope with legal and social systems and who [were] fortunate enough to live in one of the states that makes adoption by openly lesbian or gay parents possible" could be successful.[39]

It was in this climate that Linda Kaufman and her partner, Liane Rozzell, pursued adoption. Kaufman, who worked with the Department of Mental Health in Washington, D.C., had previously adopted a five-year-old boy in 1992. She and Rozzell had wanted to adopt a second child from Washington, D.C., where Kaufman worked.[40] Rozzell and Kaufman met in 1997, when Kaufman volunteered and preached a sermon at Saint Stephen's Church, where Rozzell was a senior warden. Rozzell, who worked for the census bureau and was a documentary editor of film and museum projects, and Kaufman had a commitment ceremony at Saint Stephen's in 1998. Shortly thereafter, their son Ryan, who was ten at the time, began asking about a younger brother, and because Rozzell had grown up in a family that almost adopted and felt that "there were kids out there who needed a family," and Kaufman had grown up in a big family, they began the adoption process in D.C.

Kaufman filed the paperwork in Virginia, which had to approve the adoption from D.C. The district allowed for same-sex couples to adopt together, rather than forcing one parent to file as if she were a single parent adopting a child. In a 2012 interview Kaufman described home visits as "a fun process if you're a relatively healthy and respectable part of the community." Rozzell and Kaufman got what Kaufman described as a "glowing" home report, but the Washington-based agency doing the report was "encountering resistance from the Interstate Compact Office" when it tried to place children into gay and lesbian families in Virginia.[41]

Rozzell and Kaufman were surprised, and they both blamed the changed political climate in Virginia. At first, their caseworker attempted to downplay the nature of their relationship in a revised home report. Rozzell said the experience "was quite different from when Linda adopted our older son, when [Democratic governor] Doug Wilder was in office, so I think there was some effort or thought that if they tweaked the home study, then that might ease the process. They had had several instances where gay families were being turned down for placement or for adoption finalization after the foster kid had been in the home for a while, some ridiculous things." Linda said, "We knew that things were a little bit dicier than they had been, but you know, you have this kind of thought that anybody should see that you know, a nice home, a loving home, you know, that how could they say that 'no, you can't have a kid,' it just didn't

make a lot of sense to me. I knew that it could happen other places but I just thought it was fine before, it'll probably be fine this time. It never occurred to me, you know, different governor."

In fact, when Lutheran Social Services (LSS) said that it could not get the adoption through, Rozzell and Kaufman were stunned. LSS sent the couple a copy of the sodomy and cohabitation laws on the books in Virginia, and according to Rozzell, "What Lutheran reported to us is they were telling us that if you keep sending us 'inappropriate candidates,' they may have to pull our license." Or as Kaufman remembers it, Virginia told LSS, "You need to stop sending us criminals." Rozzell said that's where LSS had to draw the line: "So they said to us, 'We don't think we should go forward with trying to match you with a kid because these are the indications that they are giving us that they're not going to approve this.'"

At that point, Kaufman determined to do something. As she remembered, "I know one thing about American jurisprudence. I mean, I watch TV—you are innocent until proven guilty. They cannot say that I am guilty of breaking these laws if there's never been an accusation, if there's never been a conviction, they cannot say that about me." She began looking around for resources and contacted the Human Rights Campaign. They sent her to the noted legal professor Nancy Polikoff, who mentioned that the ACLU was looking for a case just like hers to try in court. With the ACLU and Lambda Legal's support, she filed suit against DSS, claiming discriminatory practices.

Kaufman was a model test case for LGBT parenting rights. As Kaufman herself noted, "it was very clear that . . . Lambda Legal was setting up an education campaign to take the public right up to . . . *Lawrence v. Texas*. And they wanted people who would not typically be seen as having been impacted by the sodomy law to say 'listen, we're not just talking about dirty old men picking up other men in bathrooms. We're talking about a much broader swath than that.'" She did not describe herself as an activist for LGBT rights prior to this incident, which is why she was perfect for what Lambda Legal had in mind. She remembered, "I was the poster case for that because a couple of years prior to that, I had actually received something from Equality Virginia, and I thought, well, what does the sodomy law have to do with me?"

Linda Kaufman's case did not garner as much media attention as Sharon Bottoms's did, but Lambda Legal knew that it had in her a wonderful spokesperson for the cause of LGBT rights. Kaufman remembered, "I was just the perfect person to be part of . . . that lead-up [to *Lawrence v. Texas*] and so . . . Lambda Legal mostly, was very intentional about getting me getting media attention for the case, getting me out in front of places." She admitted, "I'm a good speaker, so that's the other plus about me is that I have a lot of passion, and I'm pretty articulate, and I'm pretty compelling." She added, "I'm middle class, white, I'm an Episcopal priest, and I already have a kid. . . . I was just a non-threatening

and . . . a very well-qualified candidate that there is no possibility I would be bumped out of the system except for one thing."

Kaufman described how "strategic" the planning was for her case—Lambda Legal and the ACLU planned how to go about getting the case together, and she received "media coaching" as she went out to be the public face of lesbian motherhood. She noted that it was clear that Lambda took this case on because it had larger implications, and both she and Rozzell were committed to fighting not just for their own family but also for other families in this situation. She said she was "honored and delighted" to be working for a larger cause, and that "we would not have put that amount of time and energy in to get it resolved [just] for us." The larger cause, however, was "a reversal of the state's anti-gay adoption practices." Kaufman says that she was explicitly coached to not make the issue about gay marriage—to make it clear that her fight was for a child to be placed in her home.[42]

Kaufman filed suit against DSS in December 2001. An attorney for the commonwealth attempted to get the case dismissed, because Kaufman had not actually submitted a formal application for adoption. Kaufman and Rozzell were aware of this potential problem, but they were not going to pursue an individual child to make a better case. Kaufman remembered, "One of the things that Liane and I were both very clear on was that we would not allow a child to be a political football. It just seemed unconscionable to us to put a kid in the middle of that. We said, you know we're not going to do that. We know we'd have a stronger case if we'd have a kid, but we didn't think it was the right thing to do. We knew that was going to be an issue, and we were hopeful that a savvy judge would say that, come on, this is a catch-22, and you can't do this."[43] When Arlington County judge Joanne Alper rejected the commonwealth's argument, indeed calling Kaufman's situation a "Catch-22" created by the state, DSS settled the case out of court. Newly elected Democratic governor Mark Warner's administration chose not to pursue the case. The August 2002 settlement included DSS directing all of its local offices that there would be "no absolute barriers" to interstate adoption, and "that consideration of all applications for adopting out-of-state children 'will be limited to whether the proposed placement is contrary to the interests of that child.'"[44]

Kaufman received publicity for her case after she filed suit. It continued through and even after the mediation process. As in the Sharon Bottoms case, media attention focused on Kaufman's motherhood, her respectability, and her suitability for raising a child with Rozzell. Unlike in the Bottoms case, there was no need to mediate any issue from Kaufman's past. According to an AP reporter, Kaufman's lawyer actually stated that "the Bottoms ruling does not affect this case because it was based on Bottoms's behavior." Another of her lawyers noted: "Everybody knows that Linda Kaufman is a great mother and a wonderful adoptive parent, but no child can be placed with her for adoption until Vir-

ginia agrees that it will consider the adoption based on what's in the best interest of the child, rather than outdated stereotypes."[45]

After the settlement, Kaufman and Rozzell were cautious. It was August, and there was a General Assembly session in January. As she said, "We didn't want to wave a red flag in front of the General Assembly to say, 'well, we'll close that loophole and we'll make a new law. . . . We did not just want to prod them into doing something." So she maintained a very strong focus on the children affected by the decision. Immediately following the settlement, she made this statement: "These kids need a loving, stable, permanent home, which is what my family provides. . . . This settlement is what I've wanted all along—for my application to be processed and assessed like all the others, and for kids who badly need homes to have that chance."[46]

Like Bottoms, Kaufman helped craft her own image as a good mother, focusing not on her situation but on the needs of children waiting for adoptive homes. In an interview following the settlement, she noted: "I've done work with the Washington, D.C. homeless, and I could see how great the needs were for adopting kids. The state wasn't hurting just me, it was hurting these kids who needed a home." She also said that "a loving family, no matter what kind, is better than none." She also pointed out that her fifteen-year-old son was African American, and in her estimation, "a honky family, so to speak, is better than no family. That's a bigger issue than sexual orientation." She also emphasized her religious training, explaining, "I look at the Bible as inclusive, and not prescriptive. I love God and scripture, and if you have studied it for as long as I have, you will find that it is welcoming and affirming, and not exclusionary."[47]

Kaufman chose to focus on issues of motherhood, rather than politics, much like Bottoms. But, like Bottoms, she also made clear her understanding that conservative elements were keeping her from expanding her family. In one interview, she did note that her first adoption application was processed when Democrat Doug Wilder was governor and then denied under conservative Republican Jim Gilmore, although she mentioned that her lawyer probably did not want her saying that in an interview. In a 2003 article, she explained her initial reaction when she faced resistance from DSS in an interview: "I was really angry, and I was sad. . . . The more I thought about it, the more I thought, *This is the U.S., and we are not guilty by default; we are innocent until proven guilty*. Nobody had accused me of anything other than to say, 'This is the law, and we can't consider you.'" In an editorial she wrote in support of the Supreme Court overturning the sodomy law she reflected that, "Looking back, I now vaguely recall hearing about efforts to strike down Virginia's sodomy law a few years ago. I didn't pay attention and forgot all about it because it didn't have anything to do with me. . . . Now I know this is about basic freedoms, privacy, and fairness. It's about me and my family."[48]

What has happened to these mothers since their cases made the national media? Kaufman and Rozzell continue to live in Arlington. Both their sons are

grown and working. They were legally married in Washington, D.C., in 2010. They are still activists—Kaufman's passion is in ending homelessness, and she has a job that promotes that goal. Rozzell works to reform Virginia's juvenile justice system, and she started a nonprofit that works to that end. They have stayed informed on and active in support of LGBT issues. They were present at the *Lawrence v. Texas* hearing—in fact, they spent the night outside the Supreme Court building and were the last to be let in that day—and they went to the General Assembly in 2005 to testify against a bill that would have denied LGBT families the right to adopt. It failed. However, as Kaufman notes, her activism on behalf of the LGBT community is primarily in living as the happily married couple that they are. Rozzell said, "Part of what we do is being out and normalizing something . . . and that kind of thing is what makes that kind of change happen." Kaufman noted: "We have a responsibility to be out because we can be part of changing. There's nothing anybody can do to us because we're lesbians. And you know, we have power, and we have the ability to live openly and to talk about things, to be reasonable with people, and it makes a difference."[49]

It appears that Sharon Bottoms has made a new life for herself. Still in touch with her son, she lives in North Carolina. She did not respond to a request for an interview, but evidence strongly suggests that she is married to a man and is the owner of a dog kennel. Her son, Tyler, is in the army.[50]

What do we make of these cases? Scholars of LGBT history note that the 1980s and 1990s witnessed a backlash against feminism and LGBT rights as the New Right emerged and sought to pass antigay legislation. This caused the lesbian community to become more moderate in appearance, and more mainstream, even as it grew to include more racial/ethnic women, older women, and children of lesbians.[51] However, as economic opportunities expanded for women and more professional networks emerged, many lesbians felt safer and chose to have and adopt children in the 1980s. This may well have caused conservatives to focus even more on "family values"—or better phrased, "patriarchal, heterosexist family values," which gained traction in the form of critiques of "father-absent" families and ultimately in the twenty-first century would lead to restrictive laws and amendments barring gays and lesbians from marriage, including in Virginia.[52]

Concern over their lesbian sexual orientation caused Virginia judicial and government officials to determine the status of Bottoms and Kaufman as mothers. Both women chose to fight the authorities by asserting their respectability, mainly in the form of their parenting skills. The media furthered the discussion of respectability, particularly in the case of Sharon Bottoms, by focusing on traditional concepts of motherly love and parental concern when describing the young woman. But to what end? Ultimately, the court determined that her sexual orientation, coupled with testimony about her past behavior, trumped both professional and personal testimony about Sharon's ability to care for her child and Virginia legal precedent that favored a parental custodian for a child

in the absence of compelling evidence to remove a child. Kaufman succeeded in adopting a second child. However, in December 2011 Virginia's Board of Social Services approved a regulation that will allow any state-licensed private agency to deny adoption to same-sex couples. In a statement, Claire Guthrie Gastanaga of Equality Virginia advanced an argument much like Kaufman's from a decade earlier: "You're getting political advice about whether gay people should be covered or treated equally under the law . . . . Nothing has changed about the needs of children for loving and permanent homes."[53] In Bottoms's case, her sexual orientation seemed to be added to a list of "deviant behaviors" cited by court officials. In Kaufman's case, her behavior as a mother and her status as a middle-class woman (and priest, no less) overcame officials' attempts to brand her as a deviant. It appears that in both situations the state judged the sexual orientation of the mothers as deviant, and the question was only in whether the respectability of the mother was enough to "overcome" that deviance.

However, had Bottoms fought for her child in the second decade of the twenty-first century, she may have had much more success in challenging state authorities. Societal attitudes shifted so dramatically since Bottoms fought to keep her son that same-sex marriage, and the rights accorded to same-sex parents, are now a reality in the United States as a whole. Virginians took the lead in the South on this issue. In 2013 Tim Bostic and Tony London of Norfolk challenged Virginia's marriage bans in federal district court. Later that year Carol Schall and Mary Townley, who had married legally in California before moving to the commonwealth, signed on to the case. In January 2014 newly elected Attorney General Mark Herring determined that he would not defend the same-sex marriage ban, and just a month later a U.S. District Court judge overturned the ban, effectively ending the ban in the commonwealth. Couples could not marry, however, until the Fourth District Court of Appeals upheld the ruling in July and the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear the appeal, which effectively overturned marriage bans in Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. After the ruling, as he stood with Schall and Townley preparing to renew their marriage vows, Mark Herring noted that same-sex couples would enjoy the same rights as everyone, including the right to adoption. And in a separate case decided in June 2015, the U.S. Supreme Court determined by a 5–4 vote that bans on same-sex marriage were unconstitutional, making marriage equality a reality throughout the country.[54]

NOTES

I want to thank the participants of the January 2012 American Historical Association session for their comments on an earlier version of this paper. I also want to thank Linda Kaufman and Liane Rozzell for their generous support of this project. Typographical errors in quotations from online news articles have been silently corrected throughout.

1. Many legal scholars have explored all aspects of the case, including the fact that the case bucked Virginia tradition of favoring the parent except if the child was in danger of neglect or abuse, and that it claimed to adopt the nexus approach of taking sexuality into account only with

other mitigating factors, although it seemed to follow more of the per se tradition of deciding the case based solely on the sexuality of the gay or lesbian parent. Many articles also discuss the two previous cases in Virginia that set precedents for lesbian and gay parents. In *Doe v. Doe* (1981) a lesbian mother successfully sued to stop her ex-husband's new wife from adopting her child, which would legally take all rights away from the biological mother. The court sided with the mother, since it would obliterate the biological parent's rights in favor of a nonbiological custodian, and the decision noted that the mother was a "good mother" who would have left her partner if it would have made a difference in the decision. In *Roe v. Roe* (1985) a gay man lost custody of his daughter to his ex-wife because, as the court noted, he shared a bed with his partner, invited over gay friends who were openly affectionate, and the daughter faced a social burden based on her father's sexuality. Law review articles focusing on the case include Joseph Price, "*Bottoms III*: Visitation Restrictions and Sexual Orientation," *William and Mary Bill of Rights Journal* 5 (1996–1997): 643–59; Douglas Steinberg, "*Bottoms v. Bottoms*: A Comment," *William and Mary Journal of Women and Law* 1 (1994): 257–67; Ruthann Robison, "Our Children: Kids of Queer Parents and Kids Who Are Queer: Looking at Sexual Minority Rights from a Different Perspective," *Albany Law Review* 64 (2000–2001): 915–48; Darren Lenard Hutchinson, "Dissecting Axes of Subordination: The Need for a Structural Analysis," *American University Journal of Gender, Social Policy, and the Law* 11, no. 1 (2002–3): 13–24; Yvonne Tamayo, "Sexuality, Morality, and the Law: The Custody Battle of a Non-traditional Mother," *Syracuse Law Review* 45 (1994): 853–85; Amy Ronner, "*Bottoms v. Bottoms*: The Lesbian Mother and the Judicial Perpetuation of Damaging Stereotypes," *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism* 7 (1995): 341–74; Stephen Pershing, "'Entreat Me Not to Leave Thee': *Bottoms v. Bottoms* and the Custody Rights of Gay and Lesbian Parents," *William and Mary Bill of Rights Journal* 3 (1994): 289–325; Julie Shapiro, "Custody and Conduct: How the Law Fails Lesbian and Gay Parents and Their Children," *Indiana Law Journal* 71 (1995–6): 623–71. Carlos Ball noted that a woman in Washington State lost custody of her child to the grandparents in a case that took place from the late 1960s through the early 1970s because of her sexuality in *The Right to Be Parents: LGBT Families and the Transformation of Parenthood* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 5–6. This book provides a thorough and compelling analysis of LGBT parents and the courts from the time in which the issue first emerged publicly through the twenty-first century. Ball actually begins his book with a lengthy discussion of Sharon Bottoms's case. He provides an excellent review of parenting cases in the 1970s and 1980s, including summaries of *Doe v. Doe* and *Roe v. Roe* on 46–74. Susan Mezey relates the history of LGBT families and the courts in *Gay Families and the Courts: The Quest for Equal Rights* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009). She, too, mentions *Bottoms v. Bottoms*, arguing that the court was unclear on how much of a role sexuality would play, and it ended up using it as a determining factor. Ultimately, she claims, the nexus approach led to many courts across the country favoring parents who did not show open affection toward or share bedrooms with their same-sex partners (18–19).

2. David Chambers and Nancy Polikoff, "Family Law and Gay and Lesbian Family Issues in the Twentieth Century," *Family Law Quarterly* 33 (1999–2000): 533. Joseph Price notes that early custody cases dealt with "routine" discrimination because judges considered it detrimental to children to be raised by lesbian or gay parents. Price, "*Bottoms III*," 647. See also Ball, *The Right to Be Parents*, 36–37; Virginia Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights, Minutes of the December 8, 1979, Meeting, UVA; Minutes, Pamphlets, Broadsides folder, Virginia Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights Collection, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia.

3. Price, "*Bottoms III*," 648–53, quotation on 653.

4. Many scholars discuss the homophobia in the post–World War II society through the early 1970s and LGBT reaction to conservatives. Several that specifically focus on the South include Stacy Braukman, *Communists and Perverts under the Palms: The Johns Committee in Florida, 1956–1965* (Tallahassee: University Press of Florida, 2012); Karen Graves, *And They Were Wonderful Teachers: Florida's Purge of Gay and Lesbian Teachers* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2009); James Sears, *Lonely Hunters: An Oral History of Lesbian and Gay Southern Life, 1948–1968* (New York: Westview, 1997). Works that discuss the emergence of the New Right and growing activism include

Vicki Eaklor, *Queer America: A GLBT History of the Twentieth Century* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 2008); Fred Fejes, *Gay Rights and Moral Panic: The Origins of America's Debate on Homosexuality* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); John Howard, ed., *Carryin' On in the Lesbian and Gay South* (New York: New York University Press, 1997); Carlos Dews and Carolyn Leste Law, eds., *Out in the South* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001); James Sears, *Rebels, Rubyfruit and Rhinestones: Queering Space in the Stonewall South* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2001).

5. Transcript of hearing from Circuit Court, in Proceedings from *Bottoms v. Bottoms*, Virginia Supreme Court Case 249 Va. 410, 419, 457 S.E.2d 102, 107 (1995), 54–56, 94, 19, 58–59, 46–47, 54, 86–87. Complete transcript of the case is in the T. C. Williams School of Law Library, University of Richmond.

6. Ibid., 95, 30–31, 37–39, 73–74.

7. Ibid., 17. Kay also testified that "I wasn't going to see him anymore. I had a choice, it was Tommy or my grandson." That caused her to see a lawyer. Ibid., 62, 24–27. Sharon had testified that "Angel" had been abused by the same man on 17–18; ibid., 67.

8. Tamayo, "Sexuality, Morality, and the Law," 869.

9. Transcript of hearing from Circuit Court, in Proceedings from *Bottoms v. Bottoms*, 64–65.

10. Ibid., 76–80.

11. Ibid., 93–94, 12–13, 14, 16.

12. Ibid., 40–41, 52, 49–50.

13. Ibid., 69, 81, 83.

14. Ibid., 112–28, 141–42.

15. Judicial Decision from Circuit Court, in Proceedings from the Supreme Court, 197, 199.

16. Susan Betts, "Truth, Justice, and the ACLU Way," *Style Weekly*, December 7, 1993, 30; "Sharon Bottoms Custody Case," *Lesbian Feminist Flyer* 19 (November 1993), 4, Folder 4, Box 3, Central Virginia Gay and Lesbian Publications Collection, Special Collections and Archives, James Branch Cabell Library, Virginia Commonwealth University (hereafter cited as VGLP); "Virginia Court of Appeals Hears Sharon Bottoms's Custody Appeal," *Lesbian Feminist Flyer* 20 (March 1994), 9, Folder 5, Box 3, VGLP; "Richmond Lesbian-Feminist News," *Lesbian Feminist Flyer* 20 (April 1994), 1, Folder 5, Box 3, VGLP. Stories updating the community on court proceedings, fund-raisers, and other news related to April Wade and Sharon Bottoms can be found in the newsletters from 1993 to 1996, which are in Folders 4–7, Box 3, VGLP; "Parental Rights Attacked," *Voice of Virginians for Justice* 5, no. 3 (November–December 1993), 5, Folder 28, Box 5, VGLP; Beth Marschak, "When Is Tyler Coming Home?" *Lesbian Feminist Flyer* 20 (September 1994), 6, Folder 5, Box 3, VGLP.

17. *Bottoms v. Bottoms,* 18 Va. App. 481; 444 S.E.2d 276; 1994 Va. App. LEXIS 381; 10 Va. Law Rep. 1590, 3–4, 13–19.

18. *Bottoms v. Bottoms,* 249 Va. 410; 457 S.E.2d 102; 1995 Va. LEXIS 43, 16–19.

19. Steinberg, "*Bottoms v. Bottoms*: A Comment," 260; Pershing, "'Entreat Me Not to Leave Thee,'" 320–22.

20. 249 Va. 410; 457 S.E.2d 102; 1995 Va. LEXIS 43, 16, 18.

21. Tzivia Gover, "Fighting for Our Children," *Advocate* 721 (November 1996): 2.

22. Steinberg, "*Bottoms v. Bottoms*: A Comment," 266, 265.

23. Tamayo, "Sexuality, Morality, and the Law," 854. She also pointed out that judges were using the sodomy law in a way that was not "gender-neutral," as it was originally written (868).

24. Price, "*Bottoms III*," 644. Tamayo concluded in "Sexuality, Morality, and the Law" that the Supreme Court "restated the facts of this case in a wildly imaginative manner to arrive at its pronouncement that Sharon Bottoms was unfit" (882); and Ronner noted that the court "focused almost exclusively (and indeed excessively) on factors other than those of sexual preference" ("*Bottoms v. Bottoms*: The Lesbian Mother," 363).

25. Steinberg, "*Bottoms v. Bottoms*: A Comment," 259, 261–62; Pershing, "'Entreat Me Not to Leave Thee,'" 320–22, quotation on 321 and 322.

26. Gover, "Fighting for Our Children," 5; Darren Hutchinson, "Out yet Unseen: A Racial Critique of Gay and Lesbian Legal Theory and Political Discourse," *Connecticut Law Review* 29 (Winter 1997): n. 139; Hutchinson, "Dissecting Axes," 21.

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